

REPORT  
OF THE  
Tenth Annual Meeting  
OF THE  
Anti-Imperialist League

NOVEMBER 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1908  
AND ITS ADJOURNMENT  
NOVEMBER 30

PUBLISHED BY  
THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST LEAGUE  
20 Central Street, Boston

THE UNIVERSITY  
OF ILLINOIS

LIBRARY

325.373

N44

V.10-19

~~POL. SCIENCE~~

~~DEPARTMENT~~

OAK ST. HDSF



The person charging this material is responsible for its return on or before the **Latest Date** stamped below.

Theft, mutilation, and underlining of books are reasons for disciplinary action and may result in dismissal from the University.

University of Illinois Library

AUG - 2 1968

L161—O-1096





Digitized by the Internet Archive  
in 2016



325.373

N44

V. 10-19

## REPORT

~~12860~~  
61

According to the Constitution, the Tenth Annual Meeting of the Anti-Imperialist League was held November 28, 1908, at the office of the Secretary. The meeting was adjourned to November 30 at the rooms of the Twentieth Century Club, No. 3 Joy Street, Boston, where, after a luncheon, it was called to order at 2 o'clock by Col. Charles Russell Codman, a Vice President of the League, who stated that he had been called upon to preside owing to the enforced absence of the President.

### ANNUAL REPORT OF THE SECRETARY TO THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST LEAGUE, NOVEMBER 28, 1908.

The Anti-Imperialist League, at the conclusion of its tenth year, needs to offer no apology to its members for its continued existence and for its projected activities. It sees with satisfaction fruition of its labors, but the harvest has not yet been garnered.

If there are critics who sympathize with the objects of the League, but are fearful lest it should be disabled in promoting them by what they perhaps consider to have been a partisan attitude in past political campaigns, we must remind these critics that the great majority of the membership of the League still considers its cause, until it is rightly settled, to be the paramount issue before the country. The League has been obliged, therefore, in 1908 as in 1904 and 1900 to recognize the fact that one party and its candidate stood committed by the most definite pledges to Philippine independence, while the other great party and its candidate ignored it or treated it as

L.S. 1 M'15

V. 10-13

direct



but a remote possibility. Nevertheless, we welcome heartily again the adhesion and the assistance of all those who, having subordinated this issue to other questions of policy or of personality, can once more act with us freely, as the settlement of these questions permits them now to do.

There is another class of critics of the League who ask whether its reason for being may not have ceased, querying whether its object is not accomplished, inasmuch as the independence of the Philippine Islands is now treated in almost every quarter as possible of attainment and is, therefore, in their opinion, sure to come about. Yet the voice of the jingo is still heard in the land, and vehement echoes yet rumble of the old cries of selfish greed and lust for world-power and horrid fear of "scuttling" and "hauling down the flag." More dangerous is that voice which cries "peace" to the agitation of the Filipinos and the Anti-Imperialists and urges concentration upon economic conditions and the development of the Islands through the investment of American capital, encouraged by franchises and concessions and inclusion within the tariff wall of the United States. Nothing is so likely as this course to knit those strong bonds which would almost irrevocably fetter the Archipelago to the United States and fulfil the dream of the Imperialists.

And so we come to the immediate and pressing object of the League, the demand for a Congressional promise of independence which will silence the jingo and warn off the exploiter. That this is not a trivial and unimportant demand may be inferred, not only from the considerations presented, but from the persistent and inexplicable refusal to consider it, on the part of the representatives of the present sovereignty. Mr. W. Cameron Forbes, the Vice-Governor of the Philippines, now a visitor to the United States, had only to say, when he was interpellated as to the feasibility and propriety of a Congressional promise of independence, that the action of one Congress might be reversed by that of another. If the grantee is satisfied with the honorable assurance of such a pledge, surely the grantor need not be hindered by the scruple. The former Secretary of War, now President-elect, had only to offer in rebuttal of our argument for this promise the plea that such a promise would cause a condition of unrest.

Without questioning the sincerity of this attitude, and with all proper deference to the opinion of a functionary so deeply

committed to a hard-and-fast policy, it must be asserted that the axiomatic position that a certainty is more likely to establish content and good order and to encourage hopeful and legitimate progress, than a condition of uncertainty, is fully justified by the conditions in the Philippines. The national spirit which has been aroused in the Eastern nations is deeply planted in the Philippine Islands, and has been daily strengthened by the contact with the world which has been brought about during recent years. To the restlessness of the people, the ineffectual results of our educational system and the many evils, for which a definite plan for independence is the only remedy, have eloquently testified within a few weeks Miss Helen C. Wilson, who resided in the Philippines for five years, and Professor Frederick Starr, of the University of Chicago, who has just returned from a visit of careful study and observation, as well as such representative Filipinos as Mr. A. Hildalgo-Rizal and Mr. Raphael A. Dimayuga. The abyss has only grown wider between the Filipinos and the American merchants and the American press, which Mr. Taft himself deplored five years ago, confessing that if it should still exist in the future he should be "very much discouraged in respect to the result of the experiment which the United States is making in these Islands." Might he not then consistently join our ranks?

The lack of social intercourse between the American residents and the Filipinos can hardly be too strongly emphasized as a decisive argument against the continuance of the present conditions. Whatever defects may be attributed to its government, it was quite otherwise with the Spanish ruling race, which had in many cases friendly personal relations with the natives. No people are less capable than our own of that sort of fraternization which is essential to national development in harmony with a foreign sovereignty. More than one American teacher, returning from the Philippines to this country after their term of service, in discussing their experience, frankly acknowledge that, with all the interest they professed and undoubtedly felt in their pupils, they have never so much as crossed the threshold of a Filipino household, and reject the idea with undisguised contempt.

The separation of education from any religious system, necessary to our theory, is opposed to the habits and traditions of a deeply religious people. It is strange to find that any of our Roman Catholic fellow-citizens should be inclined to sup-

port an administration which is perforce thus antagonizing the fundamental principles of their organization, at least now that the government has yielded to its pecuniary claims. The eyes of the adherents of the church can scarcely be blinded to the fact that our government's friendly negotiations, perhaps indispensable to bring about these settlements, have given a weapon into the hands of the leaders of the Aglipayan schism, by which they have endeavored to promote that movement through the argument that the church is identified with a foreign sovereignty. Voters in America who might have been inclined to support the attitude of the administration upon the strength of the payment of a few millions of dollars should now face the fact that, from their point of view, farther identification of church and state may imperil millions of souls.

To the discontent in social and religious matters the political dissatisfaction adds the most important factor in the case. The bureaucracy urges in vain that this dissatisfaction is confined to a small class of Manila agitators. Contrary to Mr. Taft's prediction that the Philippine Assembly would devote the first few days of its session to some frothy agitation of the question of independence and then settle down to its work, it engaged at once in the performance of its legislative functions with calmness and zeal. Having performed them in a manner generally acknowledged to be entitled to the greatest respect, at the close of the session, Speaker Osmena, praised by the Governor-general as a "conservative," in his parting address voiced the opinion of the Assembly in a patriotic speech from which some words may well be repeated here:

Through all our vicissitudes, difficulties and drawbacks, our ideal has remained unchanged. The adverse fate of the Philippine arms has not done away with the aspirations of the nation, nor has the illusion urged that the Philippine nation might some time or other constitute a state in the powerful American Union ever caused it to vacillate in the least.

\* \* \* \* \*

We Filipinos desire national independence, a desire existing before our second uprising against Spain and continuing

thereafter, equally under the shock of arms and the aegis of peace. We believe ourselves capable of ruling our own destinies. The phrase "immediate independence," inscribed upon the banner of the majority, is neither a new inscription nor a new ideal. "Immediate independence" is the motto of our country today and her motto forever, for it incarnates and signifies her true aspiration, that aspiration which has suffered neither change nor decay and which her children through all vicissitudes and adversities, have never forgotten for a single moment; ay, not even in the moment of swearing allegiance, for that allegiance involves no repudiation of our ideals, and we believe allegiance to America still permits us to be faithful to our consciences as men and to our sacred desire for national independence.

Permit me, gentlemen of the Chamber, to declare solemnly before God and before the world, upon my conscience as deputy and representative of my compatriots and under my responsibility as president of this Chamber, that we believe the people desire independence, that it conceives itself capable of leading an orderly existence, efficient both in internal affairs and externally as one of the concert of free and civilized nations, and that we believe that if at this moment the United States should grant the suit of the Filipino people for liberty, that people, upon assuming responsibility, could discharge to the full its obligations toward itself and toward others, without detriment to liberty, to law or to justice.

Not only was this address endorsed by a great majority of the Assembly, but for days and weeks after its delivery, there appeared in the native papers testimonials of adhesion to its sentiments from pueblos, clubs and every kind of organization all over the Islands.

A few weeks ago another remarkable and authoritative deliv-



erance was made at Lake Mohonk by Senor Pablo Ocampo, resident commissioner of the Philippines in Congress. It must have surprised officialdom there at least, since Senor Ocampo was doubtless considered a "safe" man by the authorities as his appointment required the assent of the upper house of the Philippine Assembly, which is the Philippine Commission. Senor Ocampo said:

Some people allege that the Philippine Islands ought first to upbuild their economic condition, in order to insure an independent life. The Filipinos, convinced of the contrary, believe that, after securing their political independence, they would be in a better position to ameliorate their economic condition, for then, they could develop and improve their state in a manner more suited to their needs, their habits, customs, idiosyncracies and civilization, not forgetting to mould them after the requirements of modern culture.

\* \* \* \* \*

There are cowardly minds that fear, once the Philippine Islands are set free, they would become the prey of some of the powers at present struggling for supremacy in the Far East, owing to their peculiar geographical situation.

These fears might have been easily justified in those times when transgressions of the rights of people used to occur with impunity, when crimes against national prerogative were committed with facility. But nowadays, when progress and civilization have triumphed over barbarism, when universal peace is sincerely advocated by those nations strong enough to betray it; now that the most powerful countries, by means of neutralization treaties, cause weak nations to stand by themselves unmolested like Belgium, Switzerland, the Duchy of Luxemburg, etc., whose independence are guaranteed by the signatory powers; \* \* \*



such fears have no reason for their existence.

\* \* \* \* \*

Returning to the question of whether the Filipinos are fit for independence or not, a fitness which some insincerely refuse to acknowledge, allow me to say that facts have eloquently shown and proven the capacity of my people. Evidence in support of this, and which no one would dare challenge, is the incontrovertible fact that the government established among us has marched onward with conquering success. No political organization nor economic nor administrative institution has been created that has not justified its object since the response from the natives, in whatever capacity they figured, was found to surpass expectation. New as the system is to us, there is not a single instance which could be considered a failure by the strictest critic.

An important point to be brought out, and which needs emphasis, since so much loose talk has been indulged in about the establishment of a Philippine republic, is that we do not stand and should not stand for any particular form of government for the Filipinos. It might be perfectly possible that the government evolved under the guidance of the educated class would not be purely democratic in form, but that the evolution in that direction might be gradual, as it has been in other nations or even that a permanent government best suited to the people might be an oligarchical one. Why not? Would Japan have reached its present position had those who first broke down the wall which separated the empire from the rest of the world insisted upon a republican form of government and upon the education of the people down to the lowest class of peasants in the principles and practice of pure democracy? Is not the government of Mexico, which is republican only in the merest technical sense, agreeable to its people and to the other nations? When Mr. Forbes was asked why the Philippines might not conduct an orderly government more or less absolute or oligarchical satisfactory to themselves and to the civilized world, as is the case with Japan and Mexico, his ex-

traordinarily inapt reply, which begged the question, was that "Japan and Mexico are not republics!"

### MEETINGS.

The Executive Committee has held its regular fortnightly meetings, at the first of which Mr. Albert S. Parsons was elected chairman. It has conducted the executive work of the League, elected additional officers and issued two addresses.

The adjourned annual meeting of the League on December 3, 1907, was addressed by Mr. Moorfield Storey, Mr. A. Hildalgo-Rizal, Mr. Dana Estes, Mr. F. B. Sanborn, Lieutenant-General Nelson A. Miles and the Rev. Charles G. Ames.

On the 15th of May last, in connection with the installation of a monument to Governor Boutwell in the Groton cemetery, a meeting was held at the Groton Town Hall which was called to order by the Secretary of the League. Prayer was offered by the Rev. Endicott Peabody, D. D., the Head Master of the Groton School, a group of boys from which, by his kind permission, had sung a hymn at the cemetery while the members of the George S. Boutwell Woman's Relief Corps of Ayer and the Grand Army Posts of Ayer and Groton laid flowers upon Governor Boutwell's grave. An address was delivered by the Hon. Winslow Warren, and a poem read by Mr. William Roscoe Thayer.

On the 15th of June, at Young's Hotel, there was a gathering of those who organized and spoke at the initial Anti-Imperialist meeting in 1898 at Faneuil Hall, to commemorate its tenth anniversary.

At the Twentieth Century Club, November 9th, a luncheon took place, followed by a meeting at which Mr. Storey presided and which was addressed by Miss Helen C. Wilson and Mr. A. Hildalgo-Rizal and Mr. Raphael A. Dimayuga.

### DOCUMENTS.

The following documents have been circulated during the year:

Proceedings of the Ninth Annual Meeting.

Liberty Poems (presented by Mr. J. H. West).

Proceedings at the Neutralization Meeting in Faneuil Hall, November 25, 1907.

The Way of Honor out of the Philippines. Rev. Prof. C. M. Mead.

Philippines "Thrust Upon Us?" Rev. Prof. C. M. Mead.

The Philippine Menace. Reprint from the American Economist.

Petition to the Congress of the United States. (It is respectfully submitted that Philippine Independence should be promised now by joint resolution.)

The Duty of the United States towards the Philippine Islands. Mr. Moorfield Storey.

Neutralization and Independence for the Philippine Islands. Hon. James L. Slayden.

Policy as to the Philippines. Hon. Thomas W. Hardwick. (Introducing correspondence between Hon. J. H. Blount and Assistant Attorney-General for the Constabulary George R. Harvey.)

Neutralization. Erving Winslow.

Remarks. Hon. John Sharp Williams. (Introducing Philippine Policy, Mr. Moorfield Storey.)

Commemorative Exercises in connection with the Erection of a Memorial Tablet to George Sewall Boutwell.

Address to Members and Friends of the League.

Address to the Anti-Imperialist Voters.

Philippine Independence. The Actual Proceedings in the Philippine Assembly June 19, 1908, and extract from the address of Speaker Osmena.

The Presidential Campaign. El Renacimiento, June 25, 1908.

The Two Extremes. El Renacimiento, June 27, 1908.

The "Democracy" of Professor Burks. El Renacimiento, October 12, 1908.

Address by Don Pablo Ocampo at Lake Mohonk, November 2, 1908.

Many bulletins have been issued to the press containing items of news from the Philippines and other interesting matters concerning the work of the League, and a large number of the earlier publications of the League still on hand have been distributed, especially among those asking for documents for purposes of debate; and for such debates we have been enabled in some cases to furnish speakers.

## VICE-PRESIDENTS.

The Rev. W. H. Scott, of Woburn; Mr. Samuel Bowles, Jr., of Springfield; Mr. Roger Sherman Hoar, of Concord; Mr. Magnus W. Alexander, of Lynn; Dr. Patrick J. Timmins, of Boston; the Hon. Thomas Mott Osborne, of Auburn, N. Y.; the Hon. Edward M. Shepard, of New York City; the Rev. J. T. Sunderland, of Hartford, Conn.; the Hon. Francis E. Woodruff, of Morristown, N. J.; the Rev. Prof. C. M. Mead, of New Haven, Conn., and Prof. Lewis Jerome Johnson, of Harvard University, Cambridge, were elected Vice-Presidents of the League by the Executive Committee.

## NECROLOGY.

The losses in our list of officials since the last annual meeting have been, from the Vice-Presidency, the Hon. James Kimbrough Jones, a strong and consistent opponent while he continued a member of the Senate of the retention and subjugation of the Philippine Islands; Professor Charles Eliot Norton, who most earnestly deplored and protested against the Spanish War and the new departure in the policy of the United States which followed it, and the Hon. E. W. Carmack, whose eloquent appeals in the Senate against the conquest were scarcely less effective than those of Senator Hoar; and from the Executive Committee we have been obliged to deplore the loss of the Hon. Thomas John Gargan, long a devoted member of the League.

Dr. David J. Doherty, of Chicago, was not a member of the League, but it is not proper to omit here a tribute to his self-denying and persistent efforts, involving three journeys to the Philippines in behalf of the interests of their inhabitants, sanitary, moral, social and political. In a very real sense he was a martyr to his devotion, as his last visit was undertaken when his health was broken down and the journey was undoubtedly the chief contributing cause of his death.

Valuable correspondence, much of it containing matter worthy of wide circulation, remains in the files of the office where it is always accessible to any of our friends. A quotation is made from an important letter recently received:



Mr. Taft hopes that ultimately the Philippines may become to us what Canada is to Great Britain. Why does it not occur to him rather to institute a parallel between our relation to the Philippines and England's relation to India? Here the parallel is obviously very close. Canadians are substantially of one race with the English, and are only in the loosest sense subjects of the British sovereign. But this present degree of freedom was accorded only in consequence of a rebellion, and there are still indications that Canada is not altogether satisfied with even the small degree of authority which England exercises over her. But what of India? After a century and a half of subjection to English rule, she is in a condition falling scarcely short of rebellion. A state of discontent exists which is rapidly uniting the discordant native elements into a movement for the promotion of an Indian nationality—a movement so much feared by England that a liberal government finds itself constrained to institute measures of repression so drastic that the ultimate effect can be none other than an increased alienation between the rulers and the ruled. There is where we need to look, if we wish to learn from history what our Philippine experiment in "colonization" is likely to lead to.

\* \* \* \* \*

In point of fact, it would be difficult, if not impossible, to specify any case in which one nation has ever imposed its rule forcibly upon another from a benevolent desire to do it good. When conquest and subjugation take place, the primary motive of the conqueror can always be assumed to be a selfish one. The conquest of the Philippines was no exception to the rule. No one but a very unsophisticated individual can



really believe that we offered to pay Spain twenty million dollars for the Philippines, and afterwards spent many times that amount in subduing the resistance of the Filipinos—all just in order that we might have the privilege of doing missionary work among this people hitherto almost unknown to us! Not till the conquest, as a scheme for political and financial aggrandizement, had proved to be a miserable fiasco, did we begin to hear of the wonderful “altruism” that had led our nation to expend so much blood and treasure for the sake of doing the Filipinos good! Let us rejoice in whatever real good we have done them; and let us wish that it may, at least in a small degree, atone for the injustice and the cruelty of which we have been guilty towards them. But let us also continue to work for the promotion of that genuine altruism which leads men to acknowledge a mistake made and to redress a wrong done, which will not only lead us as a nation to give to the Filipinos the independence to which they are entitled, though we forced them to give it up, but will also lead us to respect the co-equal rights of all the nations of the earth, large and small, and to work for that federation of the world which has **long been** thought to be only an iridescent dream, but is now more and more assuming the aspect of an attainable reality.

Members and friends of the League, we desire thus to summarize the situation concerning the status of the Philippine Islands:

There is first that great mass of popular indifference to a far away and personally unrelated question (though probably there is a pretty general underlying wish that we had no such appendix), which is in itself the most potent argument against the absolute control of a dependency by the Republic. The actual contest is between the official class and its dependents with a disinterested but short-sighted group of sincere altruists

on the one side, and on the other the seven million Filipinos and the large body of Anti-Imperialists. The battle is set. If our hands are held up, we shall fight on under our banner with unwearied courage. God speed the right!

ERVING WINSLOW, Secretary.

By vote of the Executive Committee this report was adopted as the report of the Committee.

The following dispatch was read from Senor Pablo Ocampo:

Washington, D. C.

Pressure of work deprives me of the pleasure of attending your annual meeting. Please convey to the Association my sincere adherence to its noble work.

PABLO OCAMPO.

# ANNUAL REPORT OF THE TREASURER TO THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST LEAGUE

NOVEMBER 28, 1908

*Dr.*

To amounts expended from November 30, 1907, to November 28, 1908, viz.:	
For Postage, Express, Messengers . . . .	\$1382.61
" Typewriting . . . . .	416.00
" Printing, Subscriptions to Newspapers, . . . .	301.40
" Office Rent . . . . .	249.96
" Meetings and Traveling . . . . .	74.75
" Translating, Congressional Information Bureau . . . . .	48.79
" Stationery, Telegraph, Telephone . . . .	264.20
" Sundries . . . . .	11.15
" Balance on hand . . . . .	940.37
	<hr/>
	\$3689.23

*Cr.*

By Balance on hand November 30, 1907 . . .	\$ 267.98
" Contributions . . . . .	3031.46
" Membership Fees and Annual Dues . . . .	388.35
" Interest, New England Trust Co. . . . .	1.44

---

\$3689.23

DAVID G. HASKINS, JR., *Treasurer.*

BOSTON, November 28, 1908

I hereby certify that I have audited the accounts of David G. Haskins, Jr., as Treasurer of the Anti-Imperialist League for the year beginning November 30, 1907, and ending November 28, 1908, and have found them correctly cast and properly vouched, and find that he has a cash balance on hand of \$940.37.

FRANCIS A. OSBORN.

The preceding figures give the dry, condensed financial record of the League's year, and it is a record of which the League and its supporters may well be proud. The patient and enthusiastic perseverance of the devoted and patriotic men and women who, year after year, never wearying, have given the money to keep our work going, is beyond all mere formal praise. But the Treasurer can never present these yearly figures to the League without expressing anew, and most sincerely, his high appreciation of the splendid devotion of these true Americans to the high ideals of old-time democracy,—a devotion which, in some cases, recalls the self-sacrifice of the widow's mite,—the cheerful and repeated gifts of modest and unknown givers, to keep our country true to its old traditions. But the figures alone tell only a part of the story; and no one can realize the inspiration that comes with them without reading the letters which accompany the gifts.

It would be a dull heart and poor spirit that would not kindle with enthusiasm at the receipt of contributions, year after year, accompanied with such glowing words as these, which I select from the correspondence of the past year:

"The cause is a worthy one, worthy of our best efforts, more worthy, as I believe, than that which fired the zeal of the Crusaders."

"Please find five dollars for your League. I am sorry it is not fifty, but it is the best I can do."

"I gladly send you enclosed a post office order for ten dollars winged with a fervent prayer for the triumph of the right."

"To help spread the gospel of truth and justice."

"It cannot fail, since God is God."

"Enclosed please find one dollar from an infirm old man on fire for the justice of the cause, who would gladly multiply ten-fold the contribution."

It is indeed a privilege to work in a cause that inspires such devotion.

As we stand here today, it is interesting to realize that it is ten years this month since this League was founded, and that during all this period—the seventh part of the allotted term of man's life—in spite of the angry denunciations of excited opponents and the temporizing counsels of timid friends, it has never suspended its work nor ceased, in season and out of season, to contend against the great wrong done to the Filipino people.

What has happened in these ten years? In 1898, President McKinley lost, as we believe, one of the most wonderful opportunities ever presented to the chief magistrate of a nation. Could he have risen to the occasion and refused to accept from the defeated Spaniards a single dollar or a foot of land as indemnity, declaring in chivalrous language that the United States could afford to pay their own expenses; that they had engaged in the war purely to secure freedom for the Cubans; and that the only concession he asked was the independence of the several Spanish Colonies;—he would have won for himself and for the country a unique glory, hitherto undreamed of in diplomacy, and could, I believe, have created even greater enthusiasm for such a policy in America than that which he succeeded in arousing for the ill-omened scheme of imperialism. But the glorious opportunity was lost, and the Republican party, influenced by him, by party allegiance, and by a mistaken zeal, as we believe, for the supposed honor of the flag, took the Philippines and has stubbornly held on to them to this day, and has never said, officially, a single definite word as to their future destiny; a remarkable lapse for the old party of freedom that once followed the lead of Lincoln and Sumner. While the Democrats, on the other hand, have steadily and consistently advocated, from the beginning, an immediate promise of early independence; which may seem an equally surprising conversion for the party that was once responsible for the infamous Ostend Manifesto.

During all these ten years, the Republican party has remained steadily in power, owing to issues amid which the question of the Philippines was never a controlling influence. But its success has meant the continuance of the Imperialist policy, and every national election has been, politically, a setback for our cause.

But when we look beneath the surface we see a more encouraging picture. The old commercial exploiting imperialist is no longer seen or heard. The enthusiasm for colonies is dead. The Imperialists whose voices come to us from Lake Mohonk and elsewhere, from Mr. Taft down, are filled now with earnest and, I have no doubt, sincere philanthropic and altruistic interest in the Filipino people, and would cheerfully confer on them every blessing except the one fundamental grant of justice.



It is understood to be an open secret in Washington that there is widespread weariness among Republican Congressmen over our troublesome dependency, and an eagerness to be rid of it by any honorable and legitimate means. The talk of ultimate possible independence comes openly from high quarters.

In the world at large, the tide of national and race feeling is rising higher and higher. Japan's victory has inspired Asia. No one longer dreams of plundering the awakening giant, China. India is on the verge of revolt for a greater measure of self-rule. Macedonia, Finland and Ireland all feel the impulse.

And so the Anti-Imperialist League turns to the future, and, believing that the trend of the world is in favor of its cause, looks forward with full confidence to victory. The work before it is to stimulate public interest and to arouse the public conscience, so that the victory may come quickly and with a great moral awakening. To me it seems that, while encouraging every legitimate argument against the retention of the Philippines and welcoming every ally who is moved by considerations of expense or the danger of war or of competition with American industries, the true work of the League is to hold the moral standard aloft, and to proclaim the doctrine of Anti-Imperialism because it is right, because it is the only American and democratic way of dealing with other peoples. It is for the League to do what it can to put America back in her old traditional position of sympathy with every race or nation aspiring to be free,—with India, with Poland, with the Boer Republics, with the Austrian Tyrol, with Finland, and all the rest, as well as with the Filipinos. And may I suggest in passing that there is one little thing that every man, woman, or child can do to help the cause. Let us all resolve never from this moment to be again betrayed under any circumstances into the use of the arrogant terms, "inferior races," or "lesser breeds without the law," "the white man's burden," "the mission of the Anglo-Saxon," or "people incapable of self-government."

All this talk from your Treasurer, I am aware, would be out of place today were it not followed, as the clergymen say, by a final word by way of practical application.

The League can, of course, do practically nothing without money. At the present moment, thanks to a generous gift of one thousand dollars from a wealthy supporter of the cause, we have a fair balance to our credit, but none outside the Commit-

tee know how low the funds have been. Exactly what form the work of the League will take in the new year under the new conditions cannot yet be known. But, whatever it is, it will need money; the more money, the better work. The wonderful devotion of the members and friends of the League through all these years leaves no doubt of their response, nor of the spirit of enthusiasm and self-sacrifice and patriotism which will inspire it. The Treasurer almost hesitates to ask for further sacrifices from them; though he knows they will cheerfully continue their help. He earnestly wishes he could bring his appeal to the ears of the many who are with us in heart, but have not yet given any material help. But surely the work that has gone on steadily for ten years will not cease till success is achieved, and, with small funds or large, the League will enter confidently on the new year's tasks. And it will, I trust, ever continue its efforts till President McKinley's policy of unjust benevolence is replaced by the policy of Hoar and Reed and Sherman and Harrison and Cleveland and Bryan,—benevolent justice.

DAVID G. HASKINS, JR.

## ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT,

(which was read by the Rev. R. E. Bisbee.)

Ladies and Gentlemen:

Since our last annual meeting we have had a year crowded with important events, a year of revolution and popular unrest in Asia and in Europe, a year of confusion, of vociferation, of vote getting, in a word of president-making at home, but we may congratulate ourselves that among all these happenings nothing has occurred to discourage us, and on the other hand much to inspire us with renewed confidence. All over India the people so long apparently apathetic under English rule have roused themselves, and an agitation has begun for a larger measure of self-government, to which England must yield if she would avoid an insurrection. In China the national consciousness is awakening and conditions are changing rapidly. This vast empire has already ceased to be the inert prey of foreign spoilers, and no man can foresee how soon they may regret

that they disturbed a sleeping lion. In Persia the people demand a constitution, and the Shah dares not refuse it. In Turkey the Sultan has yielded to a similar demand in order to save his throne. In Germany the Emperor has been made to feel the power of public opinion, and an important step has been taken towards constitutional liberty. Imperialism is already becoming an anachronism. The expense of the mighty armaments required to maintain it is alone sufficient to work its downfall. Wherever we look the rights of the governed are more and more recognized, and their consent is becoming more and more indispensable to stable government. The world is learning, and while upon the surface are floating politicians, forms, systems and apparent issues of various kinds; beneath are the strong currents, moral, political and economic, which are carrying us all towards national freedom and international peace.

In our own country real questions divide the people, but the recent election settled none of them, nor were they even seriously discussed by either candidate. Men holding diametrically opposite opinions voted for Mr. Taft; men holding the same opinions voted against each of the candidates. No one can say that the people expressed a decided opinion on any question, save that they preferred Mr. Taft to Mr. Bryan. Yet we all know that this election has already produced a marked effect. In Erckmann-Chatrian's novel, "The Conscript," the wounded soldier lying on the field of Bautzen hears Marshal Blucher order an aide to send up re-enforcements, adding, "Napoleon is coming up. I feel it." So, at this moment the friends of protection feel, through the platforms and the returns, the demand for a thorough reform of the tariff, and Messrs. Cannon, Payne and their associates know that they can no longer ignore it.

How is it with the question of Philippine independence? How has the campaign left that? It may be said that the strongest opponent of our views has been chosen president, and this is true, but he was not chosen for this reason. It was constantly urged in his support that there was no real difference between the parties on this question, since both advocated Philippine independence, though they did not agree as to the time. Mr. Taft's repeated statements that he favored independence were taken at their face value by many who share our opinions, and who on this ground justified their votes. As



an issue in the campaign the question of Philippine independence, like the question of the tariff, was not really discussed, yet the party which, in its platform, declared for the immediate independence of the Islands elected its governor in three great states long strongly Republican, and no one can pretend that his advocacy of this cause cost Mr. Bryan a vote. We know that all over the country men regret that we ever took the Philippines, and are anxious to be rid of them. No longer a probable blessing, they are regarded as a source of trouble and expense,—an actual curse. Nor can anyone longer question the desire of the Filipinos for immediate independence. They have asserted it themselves by the action of the Assembly on the address delivered by the speaker, Senor Osmena, and through their representative in Congress, Senor Ocampo, whose words have been quoted in the report of our Secretary. Not only have they asserted their wish, but so far as they have been given the opportunity they have proved their ability to govern themselves. Their Assembly has won only golden opinions from the Americans who watched its work. It has been efficient, wise and temperate.

The Americans and Filipinos in the Islands are not coming into closer relations, but are drawing apart, nor is anything else to be expected. Our whole policy rests upon the assumption of our superiority. We insist that we are so much above the Filipinos that we can determine whether or not they are fit to govern themselves in their own country, and because we have decided that they are unfit we are there. It is not surprising that the Americans in the Islands should share this feeling, and decline to treat the Filipinos as equals, nor is it strange that a proud people should resent such treatment. Of all civilized people we are most affected by the prejudice of color, and for that reason we are the least fit to govern men whose skin is darker than our own.

With America desiring to be rid of the Islands and the Filipinos desiring to be free, it would seem that a separation could not long be delayed. It is not possible that the first nation to proclaim that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed should long be false to its principles, when they are receiving recognition in Turkey and Persia; and though it may be that for a while, under President Taft, our cause will seem to lose, we have behind us moral and economic forces that cannot be resisted, and the "self-evident

truths" on which we stand are a rock that cannot be shaken.  
Parties and party leaders come and go, but  
    "Freedom's battle once begun  
    Bequeathed by bleeding sire to son,  
    Though baffled oft is ever won."

Meanwhile our duty is clear. We must continue the contest without faltering. We must lose no opportunity to lay the facts before our fellow-countrymen. We must point out that the policy of Mr. Taft does not mean independence, that, as he frankly admits, he hopes the Filipinos will cease to desire it, and that his measures are designed to realize this hope. We must resist every step in this policy, and so far as in us lies we must show the American people that to hold the Filipinos as our subjects against their will is wrong,—politically, economically and morally wrong;—that from this wrong nothing but evil can come alike to ruler and subject, oppressor and oppressed, and that, as its history has abundantly shown, this nation cannot endure part free and part subject to arbitrary power. The end of the contest may come soon or late, but whether we live to see the end or not, the fight for freedom must never be abandoned.

THE FOLLOWING OFFICERS OF THE ANTI-IM-  
PERIALIST LEAGUE FOR 1908-1909 WERE  
UNANIMOUSLY ELECTED:

PRESIDENT

Moorfield Storey.

TREASURER

David Greene Haskins, Jr.

SECRETARY

Erving Winslow.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Charles Gordon Ames	Albert S. Parsons
James H. Bowditch	Almon A. Perry
Gamaliel Bradford	A. A. Putnam
Frederick Brooks	Josiah Quincy
Charles Fleischer	John Ritchie
William Lloyd Garrison	Frank B. Sanborn
Edwin Ginn	Fiske Warren



## VICE-PRESIDENTS

### ALABAMA.

Prof. Edgar B. Kay.  
Prof. H. A. Sayre.

### ALASKA.

F. C. Hammond, Esq.

### ARIZONA.

Frank P. Trott, Esq.

### ARKANSAS.

Hon. U. M. Rose.

### CALIFORNIA.

Prof. Jacques Loeb.  
C. F. Lummis, Esq.  
H. C. Newbold, Esq.  
Hon. Warren Olney.  
William H. Rogers, Esq.

### COLORADO.

Hon. Moses Hallett.  
Gen. W. J. Palmer.  
Hon. T. M. Patterson.  
Hon. John F. Shafroth.  
Hon. C. S. Thomas.

### CONNECTICUT.

Dean Henry Wade Rogers.  
Prof. W. G. Sumner.  
Rev. J. T. Sunderland.  
Hon. Charles F. Thayer.

### DELAWARE.

David Ferris, Esq.  
Hon. Richard R. Kenney.

### DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

Dr. W. A. Croffut.  
Samuel Gompers, Esq.  
Gen. Nelson A. Miles.

### FLORIDA.

Hon. Thomas M. Shackelford.

### GEORGIA.

Hon. James H. Blount.  
Hon. W. H. Fleming.  
Gen. James Gadsden Holmes.  
Hon. Peter W. Meldrim.  
Hon. Hoke Smith.

### IDAHO.

Hon. Simon P. Donnelly.

### ILLINOIS.

Miss Jane Addams.  
Francis F. Browne, Esq.  
Prof. Ira W. Howerth.  
Dr. William Morton Payne.  
Mrs. Alice Thacher Post.  
Louis F. Post, Esq.  
Prof. William M. Salter.  
Prof. Frederick Starr.  
Charles M. Sturges, Esq.  
Sigmund Zeisler, Esq.

### INDIANA.

D. S. Burson, Esq.  
Hon. H. U. Johnson.

### IOWA.

Hon. Horace Boies.  
Dean Amos N. Currier.  
Hon. William Larrabee.  
Hon. Cato Sells.  
Hon. Henry Vollmer.

### KANSAS.

Hugh P. Farrelly, Esq.

### KENTUCKY.

James G. Howard, Esq.

### LOUISIANA.

Prof. James Hardy Dillard.

### MAINE.

President George C. Chase.  
Dr. Seth C. Gordon.  
Hon. Luther F. McKinney.

### MARYLAND.

Hon. John V. LeMoyne.  
Hon. George L. Wellington.

### MASSACHUSETTS.

Magnus W. Alexander, Esq.  
Samuel Bowles, Jr., Esq.  
Col. C. R. Codman.  
Rev. J. H. Crooker.  
Rev. C. F. Dole.  
Dana Estes, Esq.  
Thomas B. Fitzpatrick, Esq.  
Rev. Edward M. Gushee.  
President G. Stanley Hall.  
Hon. J. M. Head.  
Roger Sherman Hoar, Esq.  
Prof. William James.  
Prof. Lewis Jerome Johnson.  
Henry W. Lamb, Esq.  
Edwin D. Mead, Esq.  
Mrs. Lucia Ames Mead.  
Hon. R. M. Morse.  
James P. Munroe, Esq.  
Gen. Francis A. Osborn.  
Hon. Herbert C. Parsons.  
Mrs. Mary G. Pickering.  
Rev. W. H. Scott.  
Dr. Patrick J. Timmins.  
Hon. Winslow Warren.

### MICHIGAN.

Charles S. Hampton, Esq.  
Charles Humphrey, Esq.

### MINNESOTA.

Frederick G. Corser, Esq.  
Hon. John Lind.

### MISSISSIPPI.

Hon. John S. Williams.

### MISSOURI.

John P. Herrmann, Esq.

## MONTANA

Massena Bullard, Esq.  
Andrew Dunsire, Esq.  
Edward Scharnikow, Esq.

## NEBRASKA.

A. J. Sawyer, Esq.  
Rt. Rev. Arthur S. Williams.

## NEVADA.

Dr. J. J. Sullivan.

## NEW HAMPSHIRE.

Hon. Henry F. Hollis.

## NEW JERSEY.

Ralph W. E. Donges, Esq.  
Hon. Francis E. Woodruff.

## NEW YORK.

Everett V. Abbott, Esq.  
Rev. Richard W. Boynton.  
Andrew Carnegie, Esq.  
Samuel L. Clemens, Esq.  
R. Fulton Cutting, Esq.  
Charles Stewart Davison, Esq.  
Hon. Louis R. Ehrich.  
Col. Patrick Ford.  
Austen G. Fox, Esq.  
Henry W. Hardon, Esq.  
Henry Hentz, Esq.  
William Dean Howells, Esq.  
Rev. William R. Huntington.  
Hon. Thomas Mott Osborne.  
Rev. C. H. Parkhurst.  
Hon. George F. Seward.  
Hon. Edward M. Shepard.

## NORTH CAROLINA.

President L. L. Hobbs.

## NORTH DAKOTA.

A. C. Reinecke, Esq.

## OHIO.

Gen. Roeliff Brinkerhoff.  
Hon. John J. Lentz.  
Hon. Rufus B. Smith.  
Edward Stang, Esq.  
Charles B. Wilby, Esq.

## OKLAHOMA.

Dr. D. H. Patton.

## OREGON.

James Hennessy Murphy, Esq.  
H. B. Nicholas, Esq.  
Col. C. E. S. Wood.

## PENNSYLVANIA.

Dr. W. Horace Hoskins.  
Hon. Alfred H. Love.  
Mickle C. Paul, Esq.  
Frank Stephens, Esq.  
Dr. Robert Ellis Thompson.  
Herbert Welsh, Esq.

## RHODE ISLAND.

Hon. Lucius F. C. Garvin.  
Rt. Rev. W. N. McVickar.  
Edwin C. Pierce, Esq.

## SOUTH CAROLINA.

Willie Jones, Esq.

## SOUTH DAKOTA.

Hon. Levi McGee.  
Joseph B. Moore, Esq.  
Hon. Richard F. Pettigrew.

## TENNESSEE.

Hon. John Wesley Gaines.

## TEXAS.

Frederick Opp, Esq.  
Hon. James L. Slayden.

## UTAH.

P. J. Daly, Esq.

## VERMONT.

F. W. Childs, Esq.  
Rev. Prof. C. M. Mead.  
Rev. Charles H. Pennoyer.

## VIRGINIA.

President George H. Denny.

## WASHINGTON.

C. G. Heifner, Esq.

## WEST VIRGINIA.

Hon. A. S. Johnston.  
Hon. John E. Stealey.

## WISCONSIN.

William George Bruce, Esq.

## WYOMING.

Hon. John C. Hamm.

## ADDRESS BY THE HON. THOMAS MOTT OSBORNE.

### DEMOCRACY AND IMPERIALISM.

On November 14th there appeared the following letter in the Springfield Republican:

To the Editor of the Republican:—

With the crushing defeat of Bryan at the late election, did it not incorporate, also, an equal defeat to anti-imperialism? Surely there is nothing in evidence exhibiting a shadow of strength in the opposition of anti-imperialists to Taft. Their feeble influence heretofore seems to have ebbed toward that oblivion "whence no traveler ever returned." It is well their mission has ended, and their un-Americanism has become nothingness. Many schemes of disturbance have appeared and disappeared at many periods in the past—anti-imperialism has had its black blot in the history of our country, and lies dead in the graveyard of dead isms and issues—dead, without leaving a mark of influence.

L. B. Merriam.

Springfield, November 13, 1908.

The logic of this interesting epistle is no less curious than its literary composition. It is, of course, open to anyone to draw whatever conclusions he likes from the late election; and it has long been a favorite game with politicians to read into election returns anything whatever that seems to favor their own particular interests; but it would puzzle the average person to discover any particular defeat of anti-imperialism that has occurred this year. So far as the ordinary observer can see, no issue of the kind was made in the presidential campaign;—and perhaps some of us think that Mr. Bryan made a serious mistake thereby, and that he would have been far stronger before the country if he had not to all appearances lost interest in the subject upon which he once made a very

great speech—perhaps the finest he ever delivered,— that at Indianapolis in 1890. But whether or not this last thing be true, it is certainly transparently obvious that not in this last campaign, nor ever in any campaign, have the people of the United States been able fairly to express their judgment on the subject of imperialism. In 1900, while it was made a matter of debate, this question was so complicated with the free silver issue, and that of Mr. Bryan's personality, that there could be no genuine expression of judgment upon it. In 1904 the subject was ignored; as it was again in 1908. How anti-imperialism can be defeated, when it has never been an issue, we must leave Mr. Merriam to explain.

The truth is, of course, that it is impossible to defeat a moral issue. Through stupidity or self-interest we may for a time fail to grasp the ethical principles involved; through the faithlessness or indifference of its temporary guardians the affirmative side may suffer eclipse for the moment, or may even be defeated in one form only to reappear in another; but if the issue be a genuine moral one—if the affirmative side be founded on the everlasting foundations of righteousness, you can no more kill it than you can kill the mathematical truth that two and two make four.

Consider how many times in our history the anti-slavery issue was declared killed. Time and time again, as compromise after compromise was brought about,—as one victory of the slavery interest and its northern allies succeeded another, that great moral issue was buried with considerable pomp and circumstance, and its funeral oration preached in market-place and senate amid great public rejoicings. Yet, even before these proceedings were well under way, there again arose the issue, still alive and troublesome, clamoring indeed for death (for such issues do not willingly live—it is only the folly of man that prolongs their lives), but seeking the only dissolution possible—that brought about by boldly facing the truth and doing the right.

Anti-Imperialism, therefore, is still with us, we cannot get rid of it; it will remain with us—cannot indeed be separated from us—until those in whose power it lies shall deliver us from the body of this death.

The more one reflects upon the true character and mission of the United States of America, the more clear the folly and perversity of our imperialist experiment becomes; and the



more wretchedly superficial seems the reasoning by which it is defended. Let us consider the question; taking the Philippines for our text.

The main facts are simple enough: In the course of the contest with Spain, growing out of her colonial troubles in Cuba, our ships of war destroyed the Spanish fleet in the harbor of Manila, thus bringing to an end the tottering Spanish power in the Philippines, and proving for the hundredth time that in war outlying colonies are a source of great weakness.

The Filipinos, like the Cubans, had long been restless and discontented under Spanish misrule. Something in the nature of a native government (just how much is disputed) had grown up as Spain's hold on the Islands had relaxed. When the time came to make a treaty of peace between the United States and Spain, instead of recognizing the rights of the Filipinos to be free, as we did in the case of the inhabitants of Cuba, we bought the Islands of Spain for \$20,000,000, thus paying, as was estimated at the time, about fifty cents apiece for the inhabitants. We assumed possession of the Islands and have held them ever since by force of arms.

But the treaty under which the United States assumed ownership of the Philippines was not confirmed without opposition; it was bitterly opposed by representatives of both parties; and only by the exertion of all the pressure of the government did the treaty pass the senate by just the required number of votes. A shift of one vote would have prevented our embarking on this venture of imperialism; and since that time, as has been stated, the country has never had a fair chance to pass its verdict upon the policy which was then forced upon it.

We Anti-Imperialists make the broad assertion that this country, being as it is a democracy, has no business to own subject colonies. What are the arguments which we meet?

First: That the battle of Manila created a situation from which we could not afterwards escape. That we do not want the Islands, but cannot let them go.

Never mind whether the details used to bolster up this argument be correct or not; whether or not the Filipinos fired first on our soldiers on some important occasion; whether Aguinaldo was a patriot or a mere disturber; is it broadly true that there ever was or could be a situation in which we were powerless to set the Islands free? The question is almost too silly to be answered with a straight face.



Suppose you live on a lonely farm in the suburbs, and a gang of toughs come and take possession of it; feast on your provisions, and make free with your hard-earned property; and suppose some day a squad of policemen makes its appearance and drives away the ruffians; what would your feelings be if the policemen should in turn proceed to settle themselves as possessors of the property, alleging that they couldn't go away because a situation had been created that made it necessary for them to continue in possession?

In the midst of our Revolutionary struggle with Great Britain, France came to our assistance. Suppose after the Battle of Yorktown, deGrasse, Rochambeau and Lafayette had landed enough men to cow our ancestors into submission; and then, thrusting Washington aside, had coolly assumed sovereignty, alleging that a situation had been 'created that made it necessary to continue in possession. As a matter of fact, did France find any difficulty whatever in handling the situation in 1781, according to the dictates of decency and honor? Why should we have found it so difficult in 1898?

Had we so desired, there was absolutely nothing to prevent our leaving the Islands to themselves—to the people to whom they belonged. There is no inherent difficulty today. The difficulties which have been used as a reason were those which we ourselves created: and nothing is easier than to create an obstacle as an excuse for following our own inclination. Let us be frank: We are keeping the Islands not because we cannot come away, but because we either do not want to come away, or think, for some reason, we ought not to do so. The former would arise from motives of self-interest; the latter from a sense of obligation to the Filipinos.

This brings us to the second argument: We must continue our Philippines adventure for the sake of what we can get out of it.

There was a time when it was recognized that mere acreage made the greatness of a nation: That to be big was to be strong and mighty. Japan's victory over Russia ought to dispel that time-worn fallacy for at least the present generation; and it would not today be complimentary to a man's reasoning power to charge him with holding such an opinion; but the mass of the people never surrenders preconceived opinions merely because they involve bad logic. Such fallacies die slowly; and there is such an appeal to the imagination in vast stretches of the same color upon the map of the world, that the

idea fastens itself upon us every time we endeavor to shake it off. But surely we have got beyond the necessity of treating such an idea as a serious argument with intelligent people. In extent, the Philippines add nothing to our dignity as a nation; in case of war they would be a weakness as they were to Spain; they have no common ground with us of race, language, religious or political ideals. As an addition to our territory they are a pure incumbrance.

But there are those who would keep the Islands because of their wealth; and because we want to "develop" them. Reduced to its simplest terms, this is the argument of the slave-driver who worked his "nigger" for the benefit of his own pocket. International morality does not exist for such people. Deaf to the teachings of history, they think only of the possibility of personal pecuniary advantage. The one and only bit of ethical advice which they understand or esteem is that of Iago: "Put money in thy purse!"

Yet nothing is more certain than the ultimate failure of all schemes to work colonies for the financial benefit of the mother-country; or dependencies for the advantage of the master-nation. Individuals may grow fat with plunder, but, as a whole, neither country nor colony thrives.

England has, first and last, lavished large sums upon India—not counting the valuable lives she has sacrificed; it has been manifestly a losing game for her. Nor has the burden of imperialism fallen alone upon England, for there seems to be little if any doubt that in India itself the average wealth of the inhabitants has seriously decreased since careful statistics began to be taken; and that the people are steadily getting poorer and poorer.

Where selfishness rules, the situation is far worse; the greater the amount of wealth to be exploited and the easier it is to be gained, the worse for both countries. Look at the commanding position of Spain in the sixteenth century and her rapid decadence. Students of history agree that the chief cause thereof was the riches poured into her lap from the New World. If the love of money is the root of all evil, it is unearned wealth that is the Devil's favorite and most dangerous play-thing. If we are to keep the Philippines, it is greatly to be hoped that the riches of the Islands remain hard for us to get, and small in amount; and if it continues to be a losing venture in a commercial sense—so much the better! We may the sooner behold the light!

To keep the Islands for the mere sake of increasing our territory is silly; to keep them for the purpose of robbing them of their wealth is wicked. There remains, however, one other consideration along this line; for there is wealth in the Philippines which may be secured without robbery,—the wealth that comes from honest, legitimate trade.

If there were time, this point would be worthy of development at length; but I must simply point out that the wealth of commerce—the honest wealth that comes to both sides through the natural exchange of commodities—can be just as well, and indeed far better, carried on between friends as between master and subject. When Massachusetts was an unwilling dependency of England, she refused to trade with the mother-country; when the United States was at war with England in 1814, Massachusetts almost severed the union rather than give up her trade with the old enemy. You cannot gain or secure the blessings of trade by issuing orders to dependencies, or even by treaties; for trade is done between individuals for the benefit of themselves as individuals; and you cannot force individuals to trade where they do not wish to. Trade requires a state of mind, and it will be far better between the United States and the Philippines if the latter are set free, than if they are unwillingly held; especially if our absurd tariff wall were broken down so as to allow of natural and free interchange of commodities. At present we hold fast the Islands and erect a barrier to obstruct trade; could anything be more hopelessly futile and ridiculous as a business proposition?

Next we come to the arguments based upon nobler grounds—the welfare of the Filipinos; and the point is urged that we must maintain our rule over the Islands because the inhabitants are unable to uphold a government of their own. If we should withdraw, anarchy would ensue.

The first answer to this argument is that we have no right to assume anything of the kind; the second is that even anarchy is to be preferred to tyranny. I confess my own conception of the principles of democracy is such that, if the people of any land prefer anarchy to any form of established government, I say, by all means let them have it; perhaps it is a stage in their evolution which is necessary—just as children have to pass through a period of teething—whether or no.

Moreover, let us not forget that what may appear anarchy to people across the ocean may not seem the thing at all at close quarters. During our Civil War, Europe saw the great Ameri-

can Republic involved in hopeless anarchy and confusion—apparently going down in ruins; and it was seriously proposed to interfere and stop such unseemly breach of the world's peace. Yet we know now, and the wisest knew at the time, that that great conflict was necessary to preserve the Union; that it was not anarchy that was going on, but the relaying of the foundations of democracy.

So the anarchy argument fails, whether looked at from the historical or the ethical point of view. As an historical fact, what we mean by anarchy in such a case—serious social confusion—has been again and again the outward evidence of deep-seated movements, which result in the formulation of some system of government best fitted for the time and circumstances. Never yet in the world's history has one nation been ultimately successful in forcing upon another its own civilization and ideals in order to prevent anarchy. We can warp, distort or destroy a tree, or we can assist in creating favorable conditions for its growth and development, but we cannot make it grow. The principle of life is in the tree—and in the free elements about it—in the sunshine and the air; we can only assist the processes of nature, we cannot substitute our own.

The Philippines are entitled to their own form of development,—be it apparent anarchy or manifest progress; Japan has shown what freedom from outside interference can do when a nation has within itself the germ of spontaneous and rapid growth. Perhaps the Filipino has the same God-like faculty. Let us beware how we assume that he has it not; and warp, distort or destroy the purposes of God.

Next we are told that we must hold the Islands to prevent their being seized upon by some other power—Great Britain, Germany or Japan.

This argument is no less flimsy than the last. One might begin by hazarding the suggestion that if it is a question of the Filipinos being held in subjection by some one, perhaps the inhabitants might prefer to choose their own guardian: possibly they would gain by the rule of Japan or Great Britain rather than "benevolent assimilation" by the United States. Why should we assume that our own particular rule is so necessary to the Philippines? Has it not borne bitter fruit already? Has it escaped violence and blood-shed? Does it satisfy the people of the Islands? Have we been so successful in perfecting the details of our own form of government that we are justified in



deciding upon those for other people? And if these questions are all answered satisfactorily, there still remains the fact that nothing could be simpler than to take the Philippines under our protection and say to every nation in the world: "Hands off!" It would be as easy to protect the Islands in the character of a generous and unselfish friend as in that of an imperious overlord, and perhaps easier. Our attitude toward Cuba convicts us of ridiculous inconsistency out of hand.\*

Next comes the argument that it is our duty to civilize and educate the inhabitants of the Islands, with or without the implied admission that they are to be set free some time or other.

If true civilization, if the true education of a people consists in material things, in good roads, fine bridges, uniformed police, all those wonderful evidences of administrative efficiency, such as are to be seen in India, for example, then I grant that it can probably be produced in the Philippines under our rule much quicker than by home rule. A veneer of civilization under imperialism is comparatively easy to produce,—and there are no sights more impressive or superficially alluring than the relics of Roman imperialism of old, or of British imperialism of today; but was not that the very kind of civilization which our ancestors spurned, when they threw away the comforts and refinements of English sovereignty? Education of a sort can be forced wherever you have the power—there are no places in the world so offensively and tragically clean as your prisons; but is that a kind of education we demand for our own children? or would accept even at the point of the bayonet?

What business have we to go to the other side of the globe, to a land where, by accident, we have the power, and say: "These are our ideas of what is good for you; and we propose to civilize and educate you according to these ideas? It makes no difference what you want or don't want, what you like or dislike, we propose to decide for you. You must submit; because we are stronger than you and can beat you, and if necessary, will beat you into submission."

England has been trying this sort of thing in India for over a hundred years; and doing it much better (for reasons to be

---

\*The "neutralization" of the Philippines is, of course, to be preferred to any protectorate; a guarantee by all the powers that the Islands will be let alone;—allowed to develop naturally, as Japan has developed.



mentioned later) than we can ever hope to do it. Is it a success? Certainly wonderful administrative efficiency has been shown there; as a great London paper has recently said, and said truly:

“We have made life and property secure; we have administered justice to all men; we have spread the benefits of education far and wide; we have allowed freedom of speech and freedom of the press; we have respected religion and religious prejudice with care; we have upheld a standard of scrupulous purity and honesty in public affairs; we have thrown open to the utmost possible extent the service of India to the Indians; we have run the road and bridged the river; above all, perhaps, we have made men of millions of down-trodden serfs; we have been the immediate cause that the native of India has come to respect himself.”

All this have Englishmen done for India, and what is the result? Are they beloved by the people of India? Is the English rule accepted with gratitude for all its splendid unselfish work—for all the human lives and treasure expended upon it? Read your newspapers. India is seething with discontent; the Viceroy has recently had to abandon his trip of inspection and has returned under a heavy guard to Calcutta; in the different provinces bombs are being hurled at the chief officials, and murders are becoming alarmingly frequent; native newspapers are being suspended and suppressed. On all sides it is agreed that never since the Great Mutiny has the situation been so serious. Yet—irony of fate!—the Secretary of State for India, in the British Cabinet, is John Morley!

Listen again to the Simla correspondent of the Daily Telegraph:

“How comes it, many will say, that with an administration framed upon such excellent lines, there is the opportunity for even malevolent criticism to obtain such publicity in the peninsula. To this there is one sufficient answer. No government has ever saved itself merely by its own virtue and probity. Alexander the Just met the same fate as Heliogabulus, his predecessor, and Maximin, his successor; and the very liberality with which we have permitted the free publication and discussion of political heresies has encouraged a thousand to preach disobedience where, under the sterner code of Rome, even one might have hesitated to betray his secret aspirations. The truest commentary upon our policy in India was written a hundred years ago by the only European to whom it has ever

been given to understand the inmost soul of the native of India. What is, and must remain for us, a sealed book, so far as many of its chapters are concerned, was read by the Abbe Dubois from cover to cover, and his final estimate of the necessary relations between the English and the Indian is as true today as when it was written. Of that estimate the kernel is contained in the following sentence: 'Under the supremacy of the Brahmins the people of India hated their government, while they cherished and respected their rulers; under the supremacy of Europeans they hate and despise their rulers from the bottom of their hearts, while they cherish and respect their government.

\* \* \* \* \* I venture to predict that the British will attempt in vain to effect any very considerable changes in the social condition of the people of India. To make a people happy it is essential that they themselves should desire to be made happy, and should co-operate with those who are working for their happiness. Now the people of India, as it appears to me, neither possess this desire nor are anxious to co-operate to this end. Every reform which is obviously devised for their well-being they obstinately push aside, if it is likely in the least degree to disturb their manner of living, their most absurd prejudice, or their most puerile custom.'

"If this is as true today as it was a hundred years ago—and it unquestionably is—we need not look far for the causes of any unrest that may exist today. If the inability of the Hindoo to appreciate either the personality or the labors of those who, well or ill, administer India is as pronounced as ever, we who, to the best of our ability, have instilled in him the principles of patriotism, citizenship, and co-operation, and have, moreover, made him articulate, need take small blame to ourselves if our work still meets with little appreciation among those for whose sole benefit it is designed."

Oh! the blindness of men! Can you not see, you English, the key to this wonderful secret—the explanation of this great mystery—of this "inability of the Hindoo to appreciate" all your wonderful and unselfish devotion. Search your own hearts; and if you find not the answer there, turn to the pages of John Morley's *Life of Gladstone*, and there read those golden words of the great statesman who labored to give justice to Ireland: "It is Liberty alone that fits men for Liberty."

"What profiteth it a man if he gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?" You have given to the people of India all the material benefits—security of life and property, justice

and education, freedom of speech and religion, honest administration, roads and bridges;—you have given him everything that can be asked of a government, have you not? All? Yes, everything;—except one thing; except that which is worth a thousand times more than all these put together, that without which all these are as nothing, the one vital thing that makes the difference between the slave and the man—FREEDOM.

Can we do more for the Philippines than Great Britain has done for India? No;—and yes. We cannot hope to excel her in excellent administration; for we are a democracy, while England is an imperial aristocracy, but at the end of a term of years we may perhaps bring about something approaching the efficiency and excellence of the Indian government, and with the same mournful result—a discontented population on the verge of a violent outbreak against its unselfish and well-meaning oppressors.

But we can, if we choose, do more,—much more than England has done for India; we can make ourself their loyal and devoted friend; opening our ports to reciprocal trade; offering every help in our power toward high ideals and high accomplishment; and giving that most efficient help possible—the setting of a great example. The way to do this is to withdraw our army and establish independence; and the time to do it is not a century hence, nor a generation hence, not ten years nor five, but now, straightway, the sooner the better. Every moment of delay is fraught with injustice to the Philippines and danger to ourselves.

These are all the arguments that I have ever heard for keeping the Philippines; and I have tried to show them as I believe them to be, one and all weak and futile. But suppose for a moment they were valid, suppose that the Philippines cannot take care of themselves, and that the Islands would be grabbed by some nation suffering from world-hunger; suppose our departure would result in such disorder that the worst of fates, that of the Kilkenny cats, would befall the Filipinos; suppose we grant that without our help the Islands will never be civilized or educated; suppose that untold wealth is ours if we keep them; suppose any and all of these, what then? It would still be our solemn duty to withdraw; for it still remains true what was said by Bishop Potter, I think, “The real question is not what shall we do with the Philippines, but what will the Philippines do with us?” It is the danger to ourselves that is of most importance to us and to the world.



This country is a democracy;—a fact that is not unfamiliar to most of us; but how many there are who fail to appreciate the personal responsibilities that follow from that fact! How many who fail to understand just why we are a democracy; and why, as a democracy, it is impossible for us to play at the same time the part of an empire! We may be one or the other—but we can't be both. Many people there are who confuse the ideas of a republic and a democracy. Republics there have been before ours—the imperial republic of Rome, the aristocratic republic of Venice, the feudal republic of Switzerland, the paternalistic republic of the Netherlands; but ours is the first great Democracy, the first nation founded boldly upon the principle that all men are created equal—the political expression of the Golden Rule. For that is what it comes to. Four great systems of government before ours had been tried in the world and had failed to satisfy mankind. After many separate and crude experiments in government, and many failures, Rome brought all the known world under her imperial sway—in the first great organized system of human society; and then to oppose the imperial idea there arose—Christianity. Imperialism rested upon one great basic principle, “*Might makes Right*”; and the human relations at the base of that proposition are necessarily those of master and slave. But at the very moment of its complete triumph, at that dramatic instant when the form of the Roman government itself had been changed to suit the fundamental system, and Augustus Caesar had overthrown the republic and become emperor; at that moment was heard the low, grave voice of the Hebrew Prophet, “*Do unto others as ye would that others should do unto you.*”

The death-knell of imperialism was given in that sentence. It became at once the touchstone by which all future forms of government must be tried; and no government has ever been able permanently to endure, because it could not stand that test. First it was the Imperialism of Rome that fell; then it was the Feudalism of Mediaeval Europe; then it was the Paternalism of the Stuarts or the Bourbons; then the Pseudo-Imperialism of Napoleon. As one looks through history, one after the other the carefully built-up systems of tyranny crumble and fall; and upon their ruins, foolish man—failing to see the obvious rock upon which the wrecks have occurred,—refusing to recognize the great truths of the religion he professes, tries again, and yet again, to make some new combina-

tion that will stand and perpetuate the power of privilege. Imperialism, the rule of the strong over the weak—of master over the slave; Feudalism, the rule of overlord over vassals; Paternalism, the rule of a monarch claiming divine authority over subjects; Aristocracy, the rule of a social caste over the mob; now one and now the other; now a combination of these two and now of those; but always the refusal of the great mass of the people to be satisfied long with a system which gives special privileges to the favored few; thus denying the vital principle of the rule of life laid down by Jesus.

This, then, is the meaning of democracy; a system of government based upon equal justice and equal privilege for all men; the political expression of the Golden Rule.

But when this new system of human government was outlined in the great Declaration, and later worked into concrete form in our Federal Constitution, our statesmen did not have clear vision on one vital point. The slavery compromises of the Constitution may have been politically wise as a temporary concession to human weakness; but they were a blot upon a noble instrument and perpetuated in our democracy a relic of imperialism. And we suffered bitterly for the sin, of lack of faith in our own political ideal.

Lincoln said: "This nation cannot permanently endure half slave and half free." He was right, and upon analysis it is easy to see why he was right. It was because imperialism and democracy are not only different systems of government, but opposing systems of government. One is based upon the theory that "Might makes Right,"—the other denies that theory; the one assumes that one man is entitled to rule another man without his consent, the other says that all men are created equal and that governments exist only for the sake of the governed; the one denies the Golden Rule, the other affirms it. How can they exist together. As well may fire and water meet in harmony!

But if this is true of the individual, it is also true of the nation. If our democracy could not exist in combination with one form of imperialism, neither can it exist with the other. You can have an imperial republic, but you cannot have an imperial democracy. If slavery—the rule of one man over another—was a denial of the Golden Rule, a negation of democracy; so is the rule of one nation over another. And as Lincoln truly said that this nation could not endure half slave and half free, so we can truly say that this nation cannot endure



a democracy at home and an empire abroad.

I have been told that I cannot form a proper judgment of this Philippine matter because I have not visited the Islands. That we must go to Manila and see the splendid work that our Tafts, our Wrights, and our Forbeses have done, and are doing, before we can properly make up our minds; and that in the meantime we must accept the judgment of those who know from practical observation.

But I have often found that those who are in the thick of things are often the poorest judges; and, moreover, there are some things that we can know perfectly well without seeing. The greatest and most important truths are those of which no ocular proof can be had. We do not need to journey to Manila to understand the Ten Commandments.

It is the same old story. Hosea Biglow says:

“Parson Wilbur he calls all these argimunts lies;

Sez they’re nothin’ on airth but jest fee, faw, fum;

An’ thet all this big talk of our destinies

Is half on it ign’rance, and t’other half rum.”

Parson Wilbur was not quite right, unless he included a great many things under the name of “ignorance”; but it is certainly true that the Imperialists must always fall back upon John P. Robinson’s argument, that “They didn’t know everythin’ down in Judee.”

We are trying out, in this country, a new system of government—Democracy. We have not been long at it, as the world moves. We have had splendid results, and we have survived at least one deadly peril. We have problems before us worthy for any number of intellects to solve; but we cannot solve them, we cannot succeed, we can never retain our proper place in the world’s history unless we keep our democracy pure and unsullied; keep our faith in the splendid results of individual and national freedom; unless we keep on believing that “It is liberty alone that fits men for liberty.” And above all we must make our deeds square with our professions. We must yield to others the liberty we claim as our own God-given right.

Brethren of the faith, be not discouraged, our cause is neither dead nor dying; the way may be long, but the way is sure. Imperialism, like slavery, is the negation of democracy, and it will not endure.

We must take our stand boldly upon the teachings of Jesus. If he was right in his denunciation of the Golden Rule then all

the apologists of tyranny and bloodshed are plainly and tragically wrong. If they are right—if the denial of freedom can be compensated for by good roads, by bridges and harbors and all the luxuries of efficient government—then is the message of Jesus a mistake, the Golden Rule an impracticable doctrine, and the Christian religion, that we profess, a hideous failure.

But we know that is not true. We know that with Him, to whom a thousand years are but as a day, there will and can be no permanent backward turning: That the hearts of men will be opened to the truth at last. Lowell—our truest poet of democracy, has sung:

“Careless seems the great Avenger; history’s pages but record  
One death-grapple in the darkness ’twixt old systems and the  
Word;

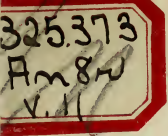
Truth forever on the scaffold, Wrong forever on the throne,—  
Yet that scaffold sways the future, and, behind the dim unknown,

Standeth God within the shadow, keeping watch above his own.  
We see dimly in the Present what is small and what is great,  
Slow of faith, how weak an arm may turn the iron helm of fate,  
But the soul is still oracular; amid the market’s din

List the ominous stern whisper from the Delphic cave within,—  
“They enslave their children’s children who make compromise  
with sin.”

On motion of Mr. Haskins it was voted unanimously: “That the cordial thanks of this meeting are tendered to Mr. Osborne for his eloquent and inspiring address, and that he be requested to furnish the League with a copy of it for publication.”

The meeting was then dissolved.



You are earnestly asked to hand this after reading, to some other person who will also give it careful consideration.

# REPORT

OF THE

## Eleventh Annual Meeting

OF THE

## Anti-Imperialist League

NOVEMBER 27, 1909

AND ITS ADJOURNMENT

NOVEMBER 30

---

PUBLISHED BY  
THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST LEAGUE  
20 CENTRAL STREET, BOSTON





## REPORT

The Eleventh Annual Meeting of the Anti-Imperialist League was held November 27, 1909, at the office of the Secretary, 20 Central Street, and adjourned to November 30 at the rooms of the Twentieth Century Club, No. 3 Joy Street, Boston. The meeting was preceded by a luncheon and called to order at 2 o'clock by Mr. Moorfield Storey, President of the League, who asked for the

### REPORT OF THE SECRETARY.

The Anti-Imperialist League, though not a partisan organization, is a political one, the question with which it is concerned being a matter of government. At our last annual meeting an important condition having a serious bearing upon our work necessarily faced us, in consequence of the result of the national election. It was not a matter of speculative opinion to which Mr. Taft had pledged himself, but a practical measure of the greatest importance concerning the future of the Philippine Islands. With his election, such of our number as gave him their support must have been prepared for the passage of his long and earnestly advocated scheme for the free importation of a quantity of sugar and tobacco from the Philippine Islands when it became an administration program. It was promoted by the administration on the grounds of justice to the Filipino and as a desirable tariff reform, yet a very large majority of the Filipinos were unanimous in protesting against the proposition, and the true friends of tariff reform were found opposing and not advocating its passage. The Filipino feared the introduction of the foreign exploiter. The American consumer could receive no benefit from it, and local interests ap-

prehended interference. The following resolution concerning this measure was adopted by the Executive Committee at a special meeting May 11, 1909, and presented in both Houses of Congress:

Whereas, It is proposed that Congress shall, by enactment, lay a tariff on goods entering the Philippine Islands from other countries without consultation with the Philippine Assembly, a body organized by our own government to represent the Filipino people, such enactment meaning taxation without representation; and

Whereas, It is proposed that the tariff on goods passing between the Philippine Islands and the United States shall be either lowered or abolished; and

Whereas, Every commercial favor between the Philippine Islands and the United States not granted to other countries constitutes a tie which prejudices the independence of the islands; therefore

Resolved, That the Anti-Imperialist League, through its Executive Committee, recommends respectfully that all reference to the Philippine Islands be stricken out from the tariff bill now under consideration. If, however, any action be taken to modify the Philippine tariff, the League urges that as a proper notification to investors in the Philippine Islands under the law, either a promise of independence at a definite period be incorporated as an amendment to any such enactment, or that an amendment may be added thereto directing the Executive to make arrangements looking to the neutralization of the Philippine Islands when their independence shall be declared."

There was much able discussion in both houses upon the scheme, the effect of which was clearly analyzed and prognosticated. The effort was not successful to obtain a congressional promise of independence to the Filipinos at the same time with the passage of the tariff measure, though the convictions of congressmen were strongly and eloquently expressed in the way of protest, that without such a pledge the peaceful attainment of that independence was made more difficult. Senator Francis G. Newlands said in the Senate, June 14, 1909:

"I am opposed to the proposed amendment admitting Philippine sugar and tobacco free of duty to our markets; not because I wish to protect American cane or beet sugar, but because the proposed subsidy to Philippine products will, in my judgment, bind those islands to us indissolubly and forever.

Since Dewey's victory in Manila Harbor the United States and the Philippines have been under the tyranny of an accident. Each country desires to be free from the other. The Filipinos, from the highest to the lowest, from the richest to the poorest, from the most intelligent to the most ignorant, desire independence and aspire to complete national life. The people of the United States desire to be freed from the burden, the perplexity, the responsibility, and the danger which permanent occupation of the Philippines involves.

We realize that there has been no glory in their conquest nor profit in their occupation; that the islands are almost worthless, agriculturally and commercially; that they are out of the line of travel and commerce, and constitute no link in our trade with China and Japan; that, unlike Hawaii, they constitute no part of our defensive line, but, on the contrary, their occupation obtrudes us into all the problems, jealousies, contentions, and possible wars of Asiatic peoples, and will some time involve us in an Oriental war, 7,000 miles from our base, more costly than the billion-dollar Boer war was to England.

All illusions have vanished. The prevailing feeling of the American people is regret that we are there and a longing to get out creditably."

Senator Augustus O. Bacon said, June 15th:

"There can be no Senator in the sound of my voice who does not know the fact that if we tie that country, whether by innumerable commercial bonds, innumerable bonds of interest, with those in this country who will be influential to see that their interests are there protected and fostered and advanced, the day will never come when we will be rid of what I consider to be, so far as concerns the United States, the very body of death."

From the Republican side of the Senate a remarkable utterance was made by Hon. William E. Borah, June 15th:

"I merely wanted to say a word in view of the vote which I proposed to cast with reference to the Philippine tariff, both in this bill and the bill which will come later before the Senate. The broad subject which is involved here is our relationship to the Philippine people. I am not going into an extensive discussion of that relationship, or what it ought to be, further than to say that I propose to cast every vote that I do cast here with a view of loosening the bonds that tie the Philippine people to the United States Government.

I am aware that when I speak that sentiment I express a view perhaps contrary to the view of the President of the United States, for whose opinion and for whose great service to those people I have a profound regard. Nevertheless, I have a firm conviction that the first duty of the people of the United States is to arrange and prepare those people for separate and independent government and for separate and independent sovereignty.

I do not believe that it is in accordance with the spirit of our Constitution or with the spirit of our institutions that we should continue a policy which must have for its ultimate effect the binding to us of a colonial possession and, in a sense, a people governed and controlled by colonial policies.

While I must therefore differ to some extent with my party and with the President in these matters, nevertheless, it is a conviction which I cannot put aside for mere party policy. I regret that the committee has not seen fit to go further than it has. I regret that the committee has not seen fit to wipe out the clause in the sugar provision with reference to the tariff. I regret very much any step or any movement which would seem to bind these people closer to us, because I believe that what they are entitled to and what the interests of the United States demand is a separate and independent sovereignty just as soon as we can give it to them."

At the beginning of this discussion it became evident that the sugar interests of the United States might effectually oppose through their representatives in Congress the proposition urged by the administration for the annual admission of 300,000 tons of sugar from the Philippine Islands into the United States free of duty. For no other apparent motive than to placate these interests, the Hon. Joseph W. Fordney then stated, on the authority of an interview with the President, that if Congress agreed to make such an enactment, the President would use all his power and influence, even to the extent of the use of the veto, "to oppose any further legislation on sugar during his incumbency of the Presidency."

On the 31st of July, the opposition of the sugar interests having been overcome and the enactment of the Philippine tariff clause assured, Mr. Fordney said in his place in Congress (apparently by order of the President, who gave out a similar declaration at the same time) that he had mis-stated what the President intended to say, in these words: "I misunderstood



him. What he meant to say was so far as sugar coming from the Philippine Islands into the United States was concerned, and from no other country." However little the Congressional Record may be read, the President is probably aware of its contents and the proceedings in Congress which are published therein. Must not Mr. Taft's best friends deplore the fact that such a bribe, thinly veiling a potent threat, should have been dangled before refractory interests during four months and disavowed by the well-seasoned expedient of a "misunderstanding" only when the desired purpose had been effected?

In beginning a new campaign one of our chief causes for courage is that we are able to offer such warm congratulations to our friends in the archipelago. They have made gains over their former strength in the number of Nationalist provincial governors, and notably in the elections for the Assembly, the result of which is sixty Nationalistas, fifteen Progressistas and five scattering, against thirty-one Nationalistas, sixteen Progressistas and thirty-three scattering in 1907.

Their attitude is wonderfully fine and brave, considering the position of affairs in the United States and the fact that the present administration has apparently committed itself to a pretty clearly defined policy of permanent colonialism.

The transfer of the affairs of Puerto Rico to the war department and the utterances of the President concerning the government of Alaska are quite sufficient indications of this tendency, while rather definite feelers have been put out through the press, according to methods commonly employed, in which the scheme of a "colonial department," under the plea of convenience and economy, has been propounded. Members of the League are naturally on guard against such an obvious menace, and there have been many remonstrances against this suggestion, of which these are illustrations:

"I entirely agree that there should be no colonial bureau since it savors of permanence where we think the arrangement should be temporary."

"I am certainly totally opposed to the establishment of a 'Department of Colonies.' We have no right to maintain colonies unless they are training for independence or in training for statehood. Any organization which tends to make permanent the present condition of the Philippines, for example, is very earnestly to be deprecated. Alaska should be treated as an ordinary territory. Hawaii and Puerto Rico easily come into

the same category. As to the Philippines, they should be put into the same category as Cuba at the earliest possible moment."

"I agree entirely with the matter enclosed therein touching upon the colonial department of the government."

"If any tangible statement is made by any high authority looking to the establishment of such a department, I shall find some way to express my opposition to it."

The Executive Committee adopted the following address concerning the matter to the President:

Boston, August 16, 1909.

"To the President of the United States:

The Executive Committee of the Anti-Imperialist League respectfully but earnestly deprecates the transfer of Puerto Rican affairs to the Insular Committee of the War Department from the Department of the Interior, its previous connection with this department being in line with the aspirations of the inhabitants of Puerto Rico, as presented by her resident Commissioner for 'statehood within the union whenever Congress will see fit to grant it; meanwhile self-government and the right to make our own laws in some form or other.' The action taken must inevitably tend to create discouragement and discontent, and to suggest indefinite postponement of the hopes of the islanders.

And this Committee desires also to express most emphatically its hope that the Administration will not give any encouragement to the proposal which has been made from time to time, that the affairs of the Philippines and other 'dependencies' shall hereafter be confided to a new colonial department to be created, thus crystallizing and tending to give permanence to their retention; such retention in the case of the Philippines being contrary to the solemn declaration of the Senate of the United States on the 14th of February, 1899, that nothing in the conduct of affairs with the Philippine Islands should be 'construed as farthing an intention to incorporate the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands into citizenship of the United States nor to permanently annex said islands as an integral part of the territory of the United States.' As recently as the 9th of July last, the senior Senator from Massachusetts, speaking for his party and for your Administration, did, in effect, renew this declaration when a repetition of it was urged; against such repetition the sole special idea plea available having been that

such action would throw 'suspicion' upon the good faith of the government."

This address, which was communicated to the President at Beverly during his absence from the Executive Mansion, received no acknowledgment or reply.

The official and inspired newspaper publications concerning the Philippine Islands are perfunctory praises of the manner in which the "wheels go round." Everything moves smoothly to the complacent satisfaction of the bureaucracy. Their bulletins imply that, except for a small band of Manila political agitators, there is profound peace and prosperity. Such an assumption, based on such reports, closes the subject with the average American. But the burning word is still spoken and is daily heard in the Philippines, where the "band of political agitators" controls a newspaper of size, quality and influence, which has so far resisted the persecutions of the government and has managed to give a pretty full and free expression to the aspirations of the people.

August 13th, Occupation Day, or the day of the installation of the American Flag, is kept in Manila, and here is what El Renacimiento says under date of the 12th:

"The prosperous American colony in this city and their well-to-do countrymen in various parts of the archipelago are preparing to celebrate tomorrow in patriotic fashion the anniversary of their occupation. This celebration is full of pride and satisfaction to the men of the race who proudly planted here the American flag. To the Filipino the event meant a tremendous change in the conditions of his existence, personal and national. It was accompanied with brave promises, but concealed many threatening elements. There were two courses open to him, absolute submission and reliance upon the generosity of the conqueror, hoping for the reward of government appointments, or resistance to a powerful current against which his weakness would be his only strength, looking to the future for the supreme effort for life and liberty.

There was a time when the thirteenth of August was generally regarded as the celebration of the establishment of friendship and mutual co-operation between the American and the Filipino, the latter needing help and the former willing and able to give it, working together in the cause of human liberty. 'Mucho amigo, mucho friend!' was the motto for that brief period. But the illusion has passed away, and the thirteenth of

August means the date of the establishment of a colonial empire of the United States in the Orient. After all these years during which we have lived together, flattering hopes have disappeared and the painful reality has destroyed the most persistent optimism. We were to receive a gradual preparation for liberty until competent men could be raised up among the natives of the islands to take part in the government. What American has left his office after eleven years because a Filipino is able to undertake his work? The fiction has been maintained that the American official was a necessity and that his sojourn was a sacrifice while the wealth of the islands has been at his mercy, and there are few who have not benefited outside their official employment by business transactions which have yielded them a handsome profit. What inducement has there been, therefore, to recognize the ability of the Filipinos to take their share of administrative responsibility? The temptation has been too great for human nature and the situation promises to continue indefinitely.

With the passage of the Payne bill, which opens the way to the American exploiter a firm foundation is laid for the imperialist structure of the Republican party, and it furnishes another reason why the American colony should celebrate with especial fervor the present thirteenth of August."

Mr. W. Cameron Forbes, the new Governor General of the Philippines, has to face, in commencing his administration, the tidal wave of victory for the Independence party manifested in the last elections. Mr. Forbes is a thorough believer in the doctrine of the guardianship of weaker peoples and an admirer of the British system in India. We can assure him that the Anti-Imperialist League will continue to co-operate with the Independents as far as their efforts are directed to opposing permanent colonialism.

A very great special cause of dissatisfaction among the Filipino element also confronts Mr. Forbes, inasmuch as he has thought fit to cut off the government payments of five hundred pesos a month for official advertising in *El Renacimiento*, acknowledged to be the native organ of widest circulation. The "Philippines Free Press," an American newspaper published in Manila, thus comments upon the circumstance:

"The fundamental evil of American public opinion is that no one dares to be on the unpopular side."—Professor Hugo Munsterberg.



In such category, we very much fear, must be included the action of the Chief Executive in cutting off the government's advertising appropriation from *El Renacimiento*. Those Americans who do not approve that periodical's very free and possibly not always fair criticism of the government, will undoubtedly applaud loudly and thoughtlessly; but as for the judicious, we feel sure they will refrain.

By the Chief Executive's action the government is placed in the humiliating position of confessing that it has suffered from and been annoyed by that periodical's criticism. If there is any justification for the saying that 'it is the truth that hurts,' the government is further placed in the position of admitting that the criticism has been true and that the truth has rankled. Whatever the intention, the action of the government will be interpreted as a confession of weakness. And, far from crippling *El Renacimiento*, it will simply tend to strengthen it. Did the withdrawal of the appropriation mean the suspension of the paper, the act would have at least some result to its credit; but, as it is, it will prove barren and fruitless and only tend to increase *El Renacimiento's* influence and prestige and strain such tension as already exists between governing and governed.

It is a common remark among Americans that *El Renacimiento* is the organ of the 'demagogues' and 'politicos,' but those best acquainted with that newspaper and its clientele know that it is much more than that, that it is the chief organ of the Filipino people, that it comes closer to them than any other, that it more truly voices their aspirations, that it is the people. The government is thus placed in the position of striking not only at *El Renacimiento*, but striking at the Filipino people, and using the money of the people to do it.

Further, the government is placed in the position of admitting that the money of the people spent in the form of advertising appropriations is nothing more than a bribe to the newspapers here to keep hands off the government. It is confessedly an effort to corrupt and stifle a free press. The presumption is that the government has its notices published for the benefit of the people, and, as there is no Filipino paper with one-half the circulation of *El Renacimiento*, the government stultifies itself and by its action confirms the belief that the money is not spent for publicity purposes or as a business proposition, but solely as a bribe to silence criticism and promote sycophantic adulation.

Truly, a most edifying picture!

During the recent election campaign in the United States some of the Democratic press charged that the opinion of the newspapers here was valueless, as they were subsidized by the government. This allegation was strenuously denied by the administration. What, we wonder, would the administration have to say now?

For our part the action of our government makes us feel ashamed. It places it in the attitude of making an issue between itself and *El Renacimiento*, and getting down into the arena with it. Truly there is need here for a great man, some one who will save us from those blunders worse than crimes, and who will breed respect for our administration instead of making it appear petty and ridiculous."

It is noteworthy that this same paper, *El Renacimiento*, continues to be the target of the government in a still more important respect. The indictment against it for criminal libel has not yet been settled, the conviction in the lower court having given rise to an appeal not yet heard in the higher court. The same is true of the case of civil libel brought before the conviction in the criminal court. Anti-Imperialists should watch these proceedings since there is danger to liberty everywhere if the paper, which the foregoing quotation from the *Free Press* recognizes as the very Filipino people itself, should be forced to suspend.

The Anti-Imperialist League cannot but be much encouraged at the abandonment of the Philippines in favor of Pearl Harbor as the primary naval base of the United States. This relinquishment of the Philippines as the site thereof is a recognition that the condition of things in the Pacific is exactly what it would have been had the far Eastern archipelago not been taken over by the United States under the treaty of Paris. This decision, not to attempt any serious defence of the Philippines against a possible invasion, such as that which might be made by Japan, is certainly a great step in advance of the position formerly held by the government. The position is a sound one from the military point of view, but in its larger aspect it is welcome because it harmonizes with the Anti-Imperialist traditions and tendencies of the American democracy. Though it is asserted that the government does not take this step with any reference to the political abandonment of the Philippines, it is certainly in accord with plans for a future disposition of the islands by

which they shall be made entirely independent, synchronizing with the virtual pledges of the nation and of the Republican party.

The work of the League is not so much a fight against an open enemy, but against a silent and hidden force upon which that enemy relies—inertia,—the indifference to the whole matter among the mass of the people, who, if aroused at all, fall back upon an easy confidence in official responsibility and the presumable good faith and good will of an American administration. So there tends to grow up a bureaucracy which, in connection with commercial interests and other ties, is sure to create such an invincible barrier that change becomes very unlikely unless through violence. Mr. J. Keir Hardie, in his recent little monograph about India, testifies to the obstacles to reform interposed by this class; it would certainly raise greater obstacles to measures looking to its own extinction.

“They are the inheritors of a system of government which has crystallized with the process of the years, and which binds them as much as it does the poor, hapless ryot. Change means trouble, and there is no free air of public criticism to force it on them or to leaven with its influence the harshness of the official regime. Everything here connected with the government is lifeless, soulless and impersonal. The men mean well, though under the circumstances well-doing is a near approach to the impossible.”

The League's work is to stir up this bureaucracy, to make known what the needs and wishes of the people of the Philippines are, to encourage the Filipinos' desire for independence, and to keep open until it is corrected and remedied, the sense of injustice and wrong-doing, for which those who are in power would invoke forgetfulness and oblivion.

#### DOCUMENTS

These new documents were issued during the year:

Report of the Tenth Annual Meeting of the Anti-Imperialist League, November 28, 1908, and its adjournment, November 30, 1908.

Democracy and Imperialism. Address by the Hon. Thomas Mott Osborne, delivered at the Tenth Annual Meeting of the Anti-Imperialist League, Boston, November 30, 1908.

Abraham Lincoln. Address delivered at the Shawmut Con-

gregational Church in Boston, on February 14, 1909, by Moorfield Storey.

The Philippine Question. Speech of the Hon. James L. Slayden, of Texas, in the House of Representatives, February 19, 1909.

The Anti-Imperialist League. *Apologia Pro Vita Sua*. By Erving Winslow.

To Caesar All Or Nothing. *El Renacimiento*, Manila, November 13, 1908.

The Reverse of the Medal. *El Renacimiento*, Manila, November 16, 1908.

Taft's Term of Probation. *El Renacimiento*, Manila, November 30, 1908.

Buried Hopes. *El Renacimiento*, Manila, December 9, 1908.

Hurrah for Idleness! *El Renacimiento*, Manila, December 11, 1908.

The Filipinos' Protest Against the Enactment of Proposed Tariff Legislation Without Some Promise of Independence. Leaflet from the Boston Herald, April 7, 1909.

Tariff and the Philippines. Speech of Hon. William J. Stone, of Missouri, in the Senate of the United States, April 20, 1909.

Conditions and Future of the Philippines. Article from the North American Review, by Erving Winslow. Senate Document 81.

The Philippines. Remarks of Hon. Francis G. Newlands, of Nevada, in the Senate of the United States, June 14 and 15, 1909.

The Philippines. Reports by Lieutenant-Governor Nelson A. Miles.

Occupation Day. *El Renacimiento*, Manila, August 12, 1909.

#### NECROLOGY

We have had heavy losses from our ranks during the year:

From the list of Vice-Presidents:

Mrs. Henry Pickering, of Boston, who paid the entire expense of the remarkable publication of *Liberty Poems*, a selection from the large number of poetical protests elicited by the Philippine War, made and printed under the auspices of the League in 1900. Mrs. Pickering remained a generous contributor to the cause during her life, not only at stated periods,



for she was one of those who made it an urgent request that she should be called upon in any time of need;

General William Jackson Palmer, of Colorado Springs, was a good friend and liberal giver to the League. By private inquiries and investigations some years ago he had convinced himself that the disaster to the Maine was caused by an internal explosion, and that evidence in proof of this existed within the wreck. General Palmer offered at one period to pay half a million dollars through the League if permission could be obtained for raising the battleship. General Palmer's documentary material, which was left to the League, awaits publication;

David Ferris, of Wilmington, Delaware, was a venerable friend who had been a life long advocate of peace and regarded the conduct of affairs in the Philippine Islands with abhorrence and the indifference of his brethren thereto with active indignation;

Dean Amos Noyes Currier, of the University of Iowa, a very active official of the League, had re-enforced his personal influence by the distribution of tracts and pamphlets, and was a most encouraging and inspiring correspondent;

Mr. Dana Estes, of Brookline, had been a vigorous and active promoter of the cause of the League from the very beginning, having been a member of the earliest committees for organization. He was a constant attendant at meetings, a liberal subscriber, and a wise counselor, who never failed in word or deed at the critical moment;

The Rev. William Reed Huntington, of New York, was a cordial and valued co-operator, whose words of encouragement were a strong reliance.

The Executive Committee have experienced a profound sorrow in the death of their colleague, Mr. William Lloyd Garrison, who had long been one of the most constant and helpful members. Whatever he touched was placed on a higher plane, and his associates felt the constant inspiration and elevation of his influence. Hating wrong, he had no hatred for the wrong-doer. He turned instinctively to that which was good and beautiful and enriched the lives of all those with whom he associated. He is a loss to the world.

#### MEETINGS

The Executive Committee has held its stated fortnightly

meetings. At the first of these Mr. Albert S. Parsons was elected Chairman. The committee has adopted a petition to Congress and an address to the President, which are given in full in the report.

The committee during the year elected as Vice-Presidents of the League: Mr. George L. Paddock, of Chicago; Professor A. H. Tolman, of the University of Chicago; Professor William Gardner Hale, of the University of Chicago; Rev. Jenkin Lloyd Jones, of Chicago; Mr. William Canby Ferris, of Wilmington, Delaware; Mrs. Edwin Burritt Smith, of Chicago; Mr. John Ronan, of Fairbanks, Alaska; Mr. Martin Harrais, of Chena, Alaska; Mr. Frederick W. Gookin, of Chicago; the Hon. George W. Kelley, of Rockland, Mass., and Mr. Francis J. Garrison, of Boston.

The adjourned annual meeting of the League on November 30, 1908, was addressed by the Hon. Thomas Mott Osborne, of Auburn, N. Y., on "Democracy and Imperialism."

Professor Frederick Starr, of Chicago, who recently made an official visit to the Philippines, put himself at the disposal of the League to offer his testimony as to the desire and claim of the Filipinos for independence. Meetings were arranged for Professor Starr as follows:

March 21, Master Street Universalist Church, Philadelphia.

March 22, Department of Education, New York.

March 23, Department of Education, New York.

March 24, Department of Education, New York.

March 25, Department of Education, New York.

March 26, Twentieth Century Club, evening meeting, Boston.

March 27, Twentieth Century Club, luncheon, Boston.

March 27, University Club, Boston.

April 13, Iroquois Club, Chicago.

ERVING WINSLOW.

# REPORT OF THE TREASURER

## THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST LEAGUE IN ACCOUNT WITH

DAVID G. HASKINS, JR., *Treasurer.*

*Dr.*

To amounts expended from November 28, 1908,  
to November 27, 1909, viz. :  
For Postage, Express, Messengers . . . . \$1055.67  
" Stationery, Telephone, Telegraph . . . 242.97  
" Typewriting, etc. . . . . 534.95  
" Printing and Newspapers . . . . . 312.45  
" Office Rent . . . . . 249.96  
" Meetings . . . . . 41.50  
" Translating and Congressional Information  
Bureau . . . . . 66.10  
" Sundries . . . . . 6 55  
" Balance on hand, Nov. 27, 1909 . . . . 196.98

\$2707.13

*Cr.*

By Balance on hand, November 28, 1908 . . \$ 940.37  
" Contributions during year . . . . . 1156.43  
" Annual Dues . . . . . 606.50  
" Interest, New England Trust Co. . . . . 3.83

\$2707.13

E. and O. E.,

DAVID G. HASKINS, JR., *Treasurer.*

November 27, 1909.

BOSTON, November 29, 1909

I hereby certify that I have audited the accounts of David G. Haskins, Jr., as Treasurer of the Anti-Imperialist League for the year beginning Nov. 28, 1908, and ending November 27, 1909, and have found them correctly cast and properly vouched, and find that he has a cash balance on hand of \$196.98.

FRANCIS A. OSBORN.

Once more,—for the tenth time indeed,—your present Treasurer lays down his balance sheet, and endeavors, as best he may,—in words feeble at the best,—to express the heartfelt thanks of the active workers in the great cause of Anti-Imperialism, to the devoted patriots, of brave soul and clear vision, true Americans of the old school, who, loyal to the ideals of the earlier days, imbibed with their mothers' milk, have contributed the means which have made all the past work of the League possible. The Treasurer has said it all before, many a time; but he must repeat it every year, as long as he holds his office.

The zeal, the devotion, the unflagging perseverance in giving, of these noble men and women is beyond praise. They seek no recognition of their patriotic services; their gifts are in most cases scarcely known to any but your Secretary and Treasurer; they are the unnamed heroes and heroines of the fight for our political ideals; and when the fight is won—as, let me again repeat, with all earnestness, it will be won,—their monument will be the great American Republic restored to its fundamental principles, and a grateful Oriental nation restored to its divine rights.

One more thing must your Treasurer say,—a thing which, I am afraid, is almost inseparable from the office. He must urge upon this meeting and upon all who may read his report the imperative need of more money to carry on the work. Enthusiastic and persevering as the supporters of the cause have been, and still show themselves to be, our receipts for the past year have been pitifully small when compared with the great work to be done. The contributions of all kinds for the year were only a little over \$1,750, about one-half of the amounts received the previous year, and a sum smaller than that contributed in any year since the organization of the League. This shows no loss of interest in the cause, and is no occasion for wonder or discouragement. It is partly explained by the fact that some of our constant and most generous supporters have been taken from us. It is partly due to the fact that the year has been a quiet and uneventful one. The noisy and sensational administration of President Roosevelt has given place to the quiet regime of Mr. Taft. The Congress elected last December has only as yet met in special session to frame a new tariff bill. The Philippines have been very little in men's thoughts, except for the question as to duties on their products imported into



this country; the newspapers have had little to say about them; the minds even of our friends have been largely absorbed with the tariff, with municipal problems, and other matters. And so the call for work in behalf of our principles has been almost drowned by louder and nearer voices.

But it is the quiet years that are sometimes the most dangerous. Time gives a sanction to wrongs that at first seem intolerable. There is a kind of statute of limitations in regard to national mistakes and crimes. Encroachments on our liberties, disregard of our old principles, contempt for the Declaration of Independence, are like vice,—“A monster of such hideous mien, as to be hated needs but to be seen. But seen too oft, familiar with his face, we first endure, then pity, then embrace.”

A rough rider will compel our attention. A courteous diplomat may work without attracting much notice. The imperialistic Roosevelt may be hunting lions in Africa. But no man in public life is so identified with the plan of holding the Philippines in subjection for from one to three generations, and with the desire to hold them forever in some such relation as exists between Great Britain and Canada, as Mr. Taft, who, though a benevolent and sincere imperialist, is still an arch-imperialist. The quiet way in which the project of establishing a permanent Colonial department has been brought forward indicates how easily, and without public observation, the bonds between us and our so-called “dependencies” may be strengthened.

And all this shows the importance and need of the League. It is, I believe, the only source in this country whence the people can gain independent information as to the Philippines, and especially as to the views and doings of the Filipino people, with whom it keeps in touch, largely through the great national and patriotic paper in the islands, the *Renacimiento*. The League urgently needs more money. Twice this year its enthusiastic Secretary, for a period of several weeks at a time, has temporarily paid a part of its expenses out of his own pocket. And in the new year, with the long session of the new Congress just opening, it will need more money and have more work to do.

The Treasurer asks the assistance, the suggestions, the efforts of the friends of the cause—both those who are here, and all others. He knows well that many of them are already giving

liberally—some of them really more than they can afford; and they should not try to give more. But it may well be that there are Anti-Imperialists, both in and out of the League, who have not as yet given much, if anything, to the cause, and who will be glad to take up and help on the work which is too much for the faithful few. The Treasurer appeals earnestly for aid to all such. He appeals to all friends of the cause to try to interest others in it, and to suggest new methods for obtaining the means for carrying on the great work.

And now, on the threshold of the new year, he greets his friends and co-workers, and bids them be of good cheer,—with full courage, and in the confident hope and expectation that if we all do our parts, the victory is sure, and may come sooner than we think.

DAVID G. HASKINS, JR.

On motion of the HON. A. A. PERRY it was voted that the reports of the Secretary and Treasurer should be referred to the Executive Committee for publication in the usual form.

The President appointed the Hon. A. A. Perry, Mr. Fiske Warren and Mr. Frederick Brooks as a committee to distribute and to collect ballots for officers.

The PRESIDENT read extracts from letters which had been received:

Rev. John Snyder: "The Republicans think they have us silenced. Don't give up the ship."

"Other engagements prevent my being there at this time. Possibly I can be with you at some time later."—Hon. William E. Borah.

Rev. Professor C. M. Mead, of New Haven, writes:

"I regret that it is impracticable for me to attend the meeting and the lunch. My best wishes go with you and all who are devoted to the good cause. The decision of the government to make Pearl Harbor in the Hawaiian Islands, rather than some place in the Philippines, its naval headquarters in the Pacific, looks like a recognition of the fact that our possession of the Philippines is precarious at the best. Were it not for the danger of general apathy on the part of our people and pride on the part of our government, we should give up our hold very soon. But the people say: 'We don't know what we are keeping them for; those who are at the head must know, and we

must leave it to them to decide what is best.' ”

The Rev. W. H. Scott writes:

“I regret very much that the condition of my health will probably not permit me to be present at the annual meeting. However, I might say this, that I am a stronger Anti-Imperialist now than I ever was, and will do all I can to elect men to Congress of that faith.”

Professor Homer B. Sprague writes:

“You and he and many of your coadjutors are rendering magnificent service to our country and to all mankind by fidelity to the principles of the fathers of the Republic and of the founders of Christianity.”

Brigadier-General James Gadsden Holmes, of Macon, Georgia, a venerable functionary, whose grandfather in the fourth degree removed from Boston to Charleston, S. C., writes as a sentiment for the luncheon: “The United States, as our forefathers who created it would have it, if they could speak.”

Mr. Charles B. Wilby, of Cincinnati, with his great regret, sends best wishes for the meeting, as do the Hon. Edward M. Shepard, of New York, and Mr. W. Horace Hoskins, of Philadelphia.

The Hon. George F. Seward, of New York, regretting his inability to attend, says that he hopes we shall have a satisfactory time.

Mr. Milton B. Whitney, of Westfield, Mass., writes: “Hearty sympathy with the cause, but unable to attend.”

The Rev. J. T. Sunderland, of Hartford, Conn., says that he is sorry he can not attend. “The occasion will be important and interesting. There never was more need for the League than now. Push on with courage.”

S. A. Stockwell, of Minneapolis, writes:

“Wish I could be with you. Keep up the fight!”

## ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT.

Ladies and Gentlemen, Members of the Anti-Imperialist League:

Again we meet to pledge our unwavering support to the cause of human freedom; to insist that Lincoln was right when he said, "No man is good enough to govern another without that other's consent. I say that this is the leading principle, the sheet anchor of American Republicanism"; and to declare that any policy inconsistent with this principle is absolutely and always wrong; to consider how our cause has fared during the year that has passed, and what are its prospects in the future—these are the questions which we naturally ask at each annual meeting, and to these I will address myself today.

Before we pass to consider the political situation, it is proper that I should remind you of the gaps which the year has made in our ranks. General Palmer, Dean Currier of the University of Iowa, Dana Estes, Mrs. Pickering, David Ferris, Dr. Huntington, have been with us from the beginning, and have contributed most generously in time, thought and money to our cause, and in losing them we have lost friends whose places it will not be easy to fill. General Palmer and Mr. Estes have been most active in the contest, and with Mrs. Pickering have been most liberal contributors to our treasury. Their help will be sorely missed. Dr. Huntington has represented us bravely and well in a community where his example and his voice were very potent, and where we have needed his aid. Dean Currier's active work in the West and his cheerful confidence were of the greatest importance, and Mr. Ferris's abiding faith in the triumph of justice was a constant inspiration. It is no disparagement of the others to say that the death of William Lloyd Garrison takes from our side a friend upon whom we had all learned to lean in every emergency, and for whom we felt a peculiar affection. He was fortunate in his birth, for he inherited the keenest moral instinct, the most perfect courage, the most implicit faith in the right. No man ever had a whiter soul, no one saw more clearly, no man devoted himself with more absolute unselfishness to patriotic service than he. We find it hard to realize that his voice is stilled forever, and we must always regret that, less happy than his father, he did not live to see the triumph of the cause which he had so much at heart, and for which he labored so long and so well.



In warfare, however, whether physical or moral, we pause to commemorate the dead, but must turn to the battle again. The year that has passed has been a year of great advance. We stand for the right of every people to rule itself, and to have no government imposed upon it without its consent. All over the world this principle is gaining ground. The Sultan of Turkey and the Shah of Persia, the most conspicuous relics of imperialism, have been driven from their thrones, and both Turkey and Persia now have a constitution, as yet of course imperfect, but a long step towards freedom. China is fermenting and the trend of events is clear, though we are not fully informed as to processes. In Russia the legislature of Finland has asserted against the Tsar the right of the people to tax themselves, and the outcome of the struggle is not yet. In Germany the Reichstag has refused to vote the taxes which the Emperor desired, and he is afraid to dissolve it lest a new election should give him a more intractable legislature. England faces a crisis greater than she has known since 1832 because the House of Lords questions the absolute right of the Commons to determine how taxes shall be imposed, and every impartial observer feels that the struggle cannot end till the right of the Commons is secured, and the hereditary privileges of the nobility are largely curtailed if not entirely destroyed. In Spain and France the power of the people grows every day stronger, and privilege, religious or political, is losing ground.

Wherever we look, whether in Europe or Asia, the tide of freedom is rising. In 1901, Meredith Townsend could say in the introduction to "Asia and Europe," "it is evident to me that the white races under the pressure of an entirely new impulse are about to renew their periodic attempt to conquer or at least to dominate" Asia. That impulse died when the Russian fleet sank under the guns of Togo, and Port Arthur surrendered to Japan. The conquest of Asia is abandoned forever.

There is one country in the world whose progress we must watch with peculiar interest, and that is India. Our opponents constantly cite the results of English rule over the Indian people as a proof that one people can govern another with advantage to the subject nation. President Roosevelt, with his strong but misguided taste for superlatives, spoke of it in substance as the most conspicuous instance in history of successful colonial administration. He and those who share his views are

either ignorant themselves or presume on the ignorance of their hearers. Let me quote a few words from English witnesses who certainly were not prejudiced against their country.

In 1757, when Plassy made the East India Company masters of Bengal, Clive described it as a country of "inexhaustible riches" that could not fail to make the East India Company "the richest corporation in the world." About one hundred and fifty years later, in 1905, Sir Frederick Treves, the surgeon to the King, thus described what he saw:

"Possibly the first impression of India which succeeds the realization of the strangeness of all things, is an impression of teeming life—of the unwonted number of living beings, human and animal, who crowd the land. The country would seem to be overrun by a multitude of men, women and children, all of about the same degree, a little below the most meagre comfort, and a little above the nearest reach of starvation. They crowd everywhere over the length and breadth of the Peninsular, for they number two hundred and ninety millions." . . . .  
"These are some of the great hordes who provide in their lean bodies victims for the yearly sacrifices to cholera, famine and plague. Plague will slay 20,000 in a week. Cholera will destroy ten times that number in a year, and the famine of one well-remembered time accounted for five and a quarter millions of dead people."

"A further impression which soon possesses the traveller in India is that of the melancholy which hangs over both the land and its people. . . . Sadder than the country are the common people of it. They are lean and weary looking, their clothing is scanty, they all seem poor, and 'toiling for leave to live!' They talk little and laugh less. Indeed a smile, except on the face of a child, is uncommon. They tramp along in the dust with little apparent object other than to tramp . . . . vivacious they are not, energetic they are not, nor are they either hearty or brisk. They appear feeble and depressed."

To this pass had a country of "inexhaustible riches" been reduced.

These people are melancholy because they are almost starving. When Sir Frederick wrote he said "no less than 17,000 men and women are dying of plague in India every week" and plague is a concomitant of famine which attacks those whose vitality is reduced. Lord George Hamilton, late Secretary for India, said that these famines are famines of money, not of food. The

people starve not because their country fails to produce food, but because they are too poor to buy it.

Sir William Wedderburn, an Englishman familiar with India since 1859 in many capacities, said in 1905:

"Thus the administration year by year becomes more out of touch with the people, and the natural consequences follow, ruinous public expenditure with crushing taxation, the educated classes disheartened and alienated, and chronic and increasing destitution among the masses of the people. With a fertile soil, a fine climate, and labor cheap, skilful and abundant India might be and ought to be a garden of plenty. Instead of that the vast rural population are constantly on the verge of starvation. So destitute are they of any reserve, whether of food, money or credit, that the failure of one harvest causes countless deaths by famine with the consequent fevers, cholera and plague among the exhausted survivors. The great majority of the peasantry not only possess nothing, but much less than nothing, being hopelessly in debt to the village money lender. These facts are patent. But they are denied by the official authorities who persist in saying that the peasantry are lightly taxed, that they are increasing in prosperity, and that to use the phrase of Sir Henry Fowler, late Secretary of State for India, 'they are enjoying the unspeakable blessings of English rule.'"

I will close my English testimony with the words of John Bright: "I must say that it is my belief that if a country be found possessing a most fertile soil, and capable of bearing every variety of production, and that notwithstanding the people are in a state of extreme destitution and suffering, the chances are that there is some fundamental error in the government of the country."

Is it wonderful that the patient people of India have tired of their "unspeakable blessings" and have shown a deep sense of grinding oppression, which has driven the English government to admit more representatives of the Indian people to a voice in the councils of the government though not to any real control over their destinies. This final step is delayed, for privilege dies hard, but the thin end of the wedge has been inserted, and its further progress cannot long be stayed.

I have cited this testimony as to India because it is said that the success of English rule in that country has justified our experiment. What a success! 290,000,000 of people who

never smile, a large majority of whom are always on the verge of starvation, poor, sick and hopeless, while the rulers talk of the "unspeakable blessings" which they have conferred upon their subjects. This is always the attitude of the ruler, be he Mayor Fitzgerald, Speaker Cannon, the Tsar of Russia, or the colonial governor,—his administration is always successful, his power always wisely used for the good of the people. Their statements share the weakness of all self-praise. The governed are better judges, and their testimony is very different.

While the principles upon which the government of this country was founded are steadily making their way wherever absolute power exists abroad, it is strange to find them questioned and denied at home, in the land which first announced and applied them, in the country which has been proud of them for four generations. It is strange, indeed, that the United States, which has so long led men to freedom, should now abandon her leadership and lag behind. It is stranger yet that a Republican, who sits in Lincoln's seat, should repudiate the principles for which Lincoln stood, and which the Republican party was founded to maintain. President Taft asserts that it is right for us to hold the Philippine Islands, and govern the Filipinos as our subjects until such time as we choose to give them their independence, which time he hopes will never come, because he hopes that before it does they will become contented with our rule. In brief he believes that one man is "good enough to govern another without that other's consent."

It is interesting to observe how unerring was Lincoln's prophetic instinct. Let me recall his words: "The assertion that 'all men are created equal' was of no practical use in effecting our separation from Great Britain, and it was placed in the Declaration not for that but for future use. Its authors meant it to be—as, thank God, it is now proving itself—a stumbling block to all those who in after times might seek to turn a free people back into the hateful paths of despotism." Mr. Taft finds this stumbling block in his path. At one time he says: "To make the terms of the Declaration of Independence apply equally to the Filipinos as to the American colonists is to be blind to the plainest facts and to sacrifice truth to an impossible dogma and a rhetorical phrase." Last July, almost on the anniversary of our independence, he said that the Declaration is so construed by some as to make it mean "that any body of men or children or women are born with the instinct of self-govern-



ment so that they can frame a government as soon as they begin to talk." Even Douglas, in his great debate with Lincoln, did not stumble as badly as this, or misrepresent so absurdly the position of his opponent. Professor Burke, who is one of the President's disciples and a strong advocate of American rule in the Philippines, also stumbled when he said, at Lake Mohonk a month or so ago, that the Declaration of Independence was a campaign document which effected its purpose in the liberation of the colonies and ceased thereafter to have any practical bearing upon the development of American history. Has this professor never heard of Lincoln, nor read his speeches? Lincoln says that the words on which we rely were of no use "in effecting our separation from Great Britain, and were placed in the Declaration 'for future use.'" Burke calls that immortal declaration "a campaign document," while Mr. Taft terms its statement of political principle "an impossible dogma and a rhetorical phrase." What a reflection on our people who for more than a century have revered this "campaign document," have had its "impossible dogmas" read with solemn reverence on each anniversary of its publication. What an insult to the intelligence of Lincoln, who, at Independence Hall, said: "I have never had a feeling politically that did not spring with the sentiments embodied in the Declaration of Independence" . . . . "that sentiment" . . . . "which gave liberty not alone to the people of this country, but hope to all the world for all future time." When we read the replies of Douglas to Lincoln we find him expressing the same views of the Declaration that Mr. Taft now adopts. The reason in both cases is bad. The stumbling block was the same. "Self-evident truths," like the ten commandments, "will not budge." They are awkward enemies, not to be overcome by misrepresentation or abuse. We can well afford to take our stand upon these truths with Washington, Adams, Jefferson, Lincoln and those who thought with them, in perfect faith that as surely as these truths destroyed slavery, supported though it was by every strong material interest in the country, so surely will they in the fulness of time prove fatal to any government of a people against its consent. They will emerge triumphant from their eclipse, and will be maintained and revered when those who now belittle or despise them have shared the fate of Douglas.

It is not surprising that, with his views, President Taft has

not shown himself favorable to popular liberty. We could wish that he would spare the time from his warfare against the great combinations of capital, which threaten the industrial and political freedom of the people, to instruct the able lawyers whom he has called into the service of the United States to attack and undo the work of the great combination which has disfranchised the colored people of the South in avowed violation of the Fifteenth Amendment, and we may hope that their wrongs will yet be redressed. We realize, however, that he who denies to brown people the right to govern themselves in their own country may find it difficult to assert the right of black people to govern or help to govern us in the United States, and again we recognize the wisdom of Lincoln as we recall his words: "Those who deny freedom to others deserve it not for themselves, and under a just God cannot long retain it."

In Porto Rico the power of the people has been curtailed, because in President Taft's judgment they did not use it wisely. The Porto Ricans are not what the Anglo Saxon likes to call an inferior race. The men from whom the power has been taken are Caucasians, Spaniards and the descendants of Spaniards, the race that once conquered and ruled a large part of the world, a race of great statesmen, soldiers and sailors. The words of an American newspaper states the case accurately.

"Mr. Taft thinks that the Porto Ricans are not worthy of self-government because the lower house of the Porto Rican legislature—the only body representing the Porto Rican people—has refused to vote appropriations as a protest against the course of the upper house, an appointive and unrepresentative body, in refusing to sanction legislation demanded by the people. It may be that the Porto Ricans are incapable of self-government, but their refusal to vote supplies for the representatives of the Washington crown does not necessarily establish their unfitness—indeed, it suggests that they may be eminently fit to exercise the power. For it is the power that the lower house is expected to use in an emergency to force obedience to the people's will. That is the only value that attaches to the control of the purse. It is a power that has made the House of Commons the dominating factor in the British government . . . If our own House of Representatives had exercised the power that has been conferred upon it by the Constitution, if it had acted as the traditions of Anglo-Saxon government

demanding that it should act, it would not now find itself reduced to the impotent, characterless and contemptible place that it occupies in our scheme of government."

Years ago, when the government of Porto Rico was established, President McKinley thus described it:

"Congress has given to this island a government in which the inhabitants participate—elect their own legislature, enact their own laws, provide their own system of taxation, and in these respects have the same power and privileges enjoyed by other territories belonging to the United States. The generous treatment of the Porto Ricans accords with the most liberal thought of our own country, and encourages the best aspirations of the people of the island."

I took occasion at the time to point out how misleading this statement was in every essential particular, and that the Porto Ricans were left with no constitutional rights and at the mercy of Congress. The criticism is now justified. A power which is taken away, when it is exercised to secure the objects for which the power is created, is of little value.

Mr. Taft acts upon the assumption that the Porto Ricans cannot be trusted to govern themselves, that the unanimous House of Delegates was of necessity wrong if it differed from the representatives of the United States as to questions affecting the people, whom the Delegates represented and the American officials did not. It is interesting to quote in this connection the testimony of an American who has given much study to Porto Rican questions and who began as a warm advocate of our rule. In a letter published in the Transcript on July 3, Mr. George Marvin says:

"Today, after ten years of American rule, it (Porto Rico) is neither a contented nor a prosperous community."

"Since the beginning of American rule just as there has never been any attempt to restore sound economic conditions to the island, so also has there never been any sustained or general attempt on the part of American officials or residents to understand and meet the Porto Rican people. . . Few Americans in Porto Rico have taken the pains to master the Spanish language, and have therefore barred themselves from communication with the native people and from that degree of mutual understanding which the use of a common tongue may bring. In a majority of instances, it must be said, the manner and bearing of resident and visiting Americans have been at

least indifferent, often overbearing or contemptuous. From the days when the soldiers kicked them literally out of the way on the side walks to the present time of executive kick, the Porto Rican people have always cherished a grievance and nursed a blighted hope, which are not due to racial differences merely."

He points out the economical mistakes that have been made and suggests remedies, but says that today "a feeling of hatred and hostility to constituted authority is growing," that "the feeling of the people who have fared less well under American than under Spanish rule is the ember of what might, under other conditions, glare up into open violence," and falls back upon the ultimate reason of the conditions in these words: "Back of all other reasons for the partial failure of this first experiment in dependent administration lies the popular indifference and ignorance in this country regarding the island and its interests."

In a word, having proved that we are unable to govern the island well for the reason that our people neither know nor care what its interests require, we conclude with entire complacency that the people cannot govern themselves. We are conferring "the inestimable blessings" of our rule, and they are such fools as not to know when they are well off. India and Porto Rico, Hindoo and Spaniard alike are blind to their interests, alike are incapable of understanding their own needs. Wrapped up in our own conceit, we think that without knowledge or interest in their fate we can govern a people better than they govern themselves. Does this seem like a truth when weighed against the truths of the Declaration?

Are we likely to grow more competent to govern, to become less ignorant or indifferent? Certainly not till we realize that we are not governing well. We shall not cure our troubles till we see that they exist, and indeed what hope is there that a people will govern others wisely who cannot govern themselves, who do not care enough for their own interests to make a Tammany Hall in New York, a Quay and a Penrose in Pennsylvania, a Fitzgerald in Boston, or a Cox in Cincinnati impossible; who are content to be plundered by dishonest men in every city and state, who submit to the organized robbery of an Aldrich tariff, and who maintain for years in their own commercial metropolis a machine for collecting the tariff taxes which is not only honeycombed with dishonesty, but which has



debauched the conscience of that great mercantile community.

The people of Alaska also find in Mr. Taft's utterances a note of discouragement, though their territory stands as did the rest of our territory on this continent, except that it is not contiguous. The American residents, however, may safely be trusted to assert their rights when their numbers justify a change in their form of government, and we note Mr. Taft's attitude only as an indication of his opinions, not because we need concern ourselves with the future of Alaska.

In the Philippines the situation has not changed. The voters of the island at the recent election have expressed again even more decidedly their desire for immediate independence, and the late Governor General has pointed out with regret "the growing gulf between the two peoples," saying that "an era of ill feeling has started between Americans and Filipinos, and, I hesitate to say it, 'race hatred.'" This is no new thing. Six years ago his predecessor, Mr. Taft, spoke of it on leaving the islands, pointed out the causes of it, and said: "Were I assured that the present attitude of the majority of American merchants and the American press would be permanent, and if I did not confidently hope that there must be a great change in the future, I should be very much discouraged in respect to the result of the experiment which the United States is making in these islands."

Our Secretary, Mr. Winslow, in his admirable article in the North American Review, published earlier in the year, has stated the argument on this point very clearly, and I will not repeat it. Mr. Taft is not discouraged now by what disturbed him then, though conditions are going from bad to worse; but why should he expect improvement? No student of human nature should be blind to the "self-evident truth" that, since the only ground on which we justify holding the islands is the fact that we are a superior and they an inferior people, the Americans will assert that superiority and make it felt in a thousand ways that are inexpressibly galling. They will bear themselves in the Philippines as they have in Porto Rico, and with the same results. A people which has robbed and nearly exterminated the Indians, which is disfranchising, lynching, and abusing its colored fellow-citizens at home, is from its very experience with colored races incapable of treating colored men as equals. Mr. Taft's hope is Utopian. The gulf between the races has never been bridged in India, and never will

be in the Philippines.

For the fifth time in ten years the Filipinos have a new Governor, Cameron Forbes. I have known him from his infancy, and I am glad to bear my cordial testimony in his favor. He is able, conscientious, unselfish, thoroughly convinced that our government of the Filipinos is justified, determined to make it a blessing to them, and willing to spend himself in every way to accomplish this purpose. He is an untiring worker and an admirable man. If the policy of our government is right, no better man to administer it could be found in our country. He is as sincere in his belief as we are in ours, and if we oppose and criticize him, it is not on personal grounds but because he represents a policy which we believe to be wrong; because he is engaged in a hopeless undertaking.

From the report of his inaugural address, telegraphed from Manila on November 24, it appears that "improvement in the material conditions of the islands and the people was the keynote" of his speech. "He dedicated his administration to the advancement of the people and country, and declared that the country's greatest need was capital." He is quoted as speaking thus:

"Capital demands a stable government. Capital is not particularly interested in the color or design of the flag; it wants just and equitable laws, sound and uniform policy on the part of the Government, just and fair treatment in the courts. The faith of the United States is pledged that all of these benefits shall be permanently assured to the Filipinos. No capitalist need feel alarmed as to the security of his investment, provided it has been made in such a way as to fulfill the conditions imposed by law. The United States stands pledged to the establishment and maintenance of a stable government in the Philippine Islands; not for the sake of capital which may be invested there, but for the sake of the welfare of the Philippine people and the faith of the United States before the world. The security of foreign capital is merely an incident in the general security of property rights to the Filipino, but both are now permanently assured.

"There is not on the horizon discernible any cloud which indicates the possibility of any kind of disturbance in the present status of these islands, either from within or without, by war or insurrection. The United States is strong, determined, fixed in her policy and not to be dissuaded or coerced.

The development of the Philippines will proceed along the lines originally set forth, strictly adhered to by each successive administration and by the gradual process in line of declared policy—not by spasms or jerks. I am opposed to the admission of Chinese labor; Filipinos can do all the necessary work here if properly paid and properly treated. The Government should offer every reasonable inducement to capital and should make more liberal the land and mining laws and lessen the restrictions which are at present discouraging investors.”

In a word, he speaks as if this country proposed to hold the islands indefinitely, and his desire is to introduce capital from sources foreign to the Philippines, and so create material prosperity. His ideal is that of many in his generation, but it is absolutely opposed to the principles for which we stand. He would induce Americans and others to invest in the islands, and to assure them that their investments will be protected by the continuance of American control. No human being can give them that assurance. The millions of dollars invested in slaves and slave property, the millions which slave-holders owed to northern merchants, the business and social ties which bound North as well as South to the maintenance of slavery, the political hopes and interests which were founded upon it were but as dust in the balance against the irresistible demands of human freedom. We who are today resisting the policy which Mr. Forbes advocates are apparently an insignificant minority. He represents the administration backed by the whole power of the United States. We are nothing in this contest; but were we all to die today our cause would not be lost. Upon our side are the moral and economical forces which destroyed slavery, the forces which will overthrow English domination in India, the forces which enabled France to conquer Europe, the love of justice, the love of freedom, the “self-evident truths” of the Declaration, the conscience of the American people, and no barrier that capital can erect will withstand these.

Yet we are opposed to his policy because every American dollar which is planted in the Philippines is a rivet in the chain which binds them to us; it creates an interest hostile to their independence, it makes the justice which we shall ultimately render them, the separation which will surely take place, more difficult and more costly. It is capital which brought on the Boer War, it is capital which led to the conquest of India, it is capital which pushed Russia into the war with Japan, it is



capital which promotes the aggression of stronger upon weaker peoples, and to the policy of improving the Philippine Islands by capital from without we are absolutely opposed.

Mr. Forbes enters his office with high hopes, and we would gladly see his aspirations realized. We would gladly be proved wrong in our fears, but we have read history to very little purpose if he is not doomed to inevitable disappointment. It was a wiser man than any of us, John Stuart Mill, who said that "such a thing as a government of one people by another does not and cannot exist. One people may keep another as a warren or preserve for its own use, a place to make money in, a human cattle farm, to be worked for the profits of its own inhabitants, but if the good of the governed is the proper business of a government, it is utterly impossible that a people should directly attend to it." And, said Froude, "if there be one lesson which history clearly teaches, it is this, that free nations cannot govern subject provinces." Rome, Spain, even England in India have failed. How can we upon the widening gulf of "race hatred" in the Philippines hope to rear an enduring edifice? How can we, who cannot protect our own fellow-citizens from lynching and mob violence even in the northern states, who cannot secure to them in half our country the rights which are given to them by the Constitution because of race prejudice, how can we hope to deal with race prejudice in distant islands?

Our people in the Philippines will never be Filipino patriots. Their love will always be for what they call "God's country," and for their own race. The patriotism of the Filipinos is fettered and suppressed by foreign rule, and what country can hope to prosper where there is no room for patriotism. Mr. Hobson, the well known English student, describes the policy which Mr. Forbes advocates, and though Mr. Forbes will not now admit that the description is true, in my judgment there is no escaping it.

Says Hobson: "Everywhere in the white administration of these lower races considerations of present order are paramount, and industrial exploitation of the land and labor under private management for private immediate gain is the chief operative force in the community, unchecked or inadequately checked, by imperial or other governmental control." We may ask in passing, is not the same force dominant at home? If not, what was the excuse for the so-called Roosevelt policies?



Mr. Hobson continues: "Nowhere under such conditions is the theory of white government as a trust for civilization made valid. Nowhere is there any provision to secure the predominance of the interests either of the world at large, or of the governed people, over those of the encroaching nation, or more commonly a section of that nation. The relations subsisting between the superior and the inferior nations, commonly established by pure force and resting on that basis, are such as preclude the genuine sympathy essential to the operation of the best civilizing influences, and usually resolve themselves into the maintenance of external good order, so as to forward the profitable development of certain national resources of the land under 'forced' native labor, primarily for the benefit of white traders and investors, and secondarily for the benefit of the world of white western customers."

That the policy has not succeeded in our colonies is shown by the increasing hatred of us felt by Porto Ricans and Filipinos alike.

Mr. Forbes has a great opportunity. If he uses it to cover the islands with railroads, high roads, hospitals, and like material improvements, he will leave behind him a nation only more embittered against American rule, and in the largest sense his time will have been worse than wasted. Let us hope that he will realize how little material benefits like these weigh in the scale against human liberty,

"For what avail the plough or sail  
Or land or life, if freedom fail."

There is that in his blood which must sooner or later tell him that these words are true.

Let him teach the Filipinos to help themselves with their own resources, and not with the money of others. Set before them, as was set before our fathers, "the glorious prospect of entire independence, and it will breathe into them anew the breath of life," as it did then. Let them be protected against other invaders by such treaties as preserve the independence of Holland and Norway from their stronger neighbors. Let him trust the Filipinos, and by trusting educate them to bear responsibility, and let his be the hands from which they receive that national independence for which they so earnestly long, and for which they have suffered so much. Let him do for them what Governor Magcon has done for the Cubans, who are no better fitted for self-government than the Filipinos, and he

will win the enduring gratitude not only of the people whose liberty he secures, but also of his own people, who have long wearied of the Philippine enterprise, and whose consciences would be much easier if this burden were removed. In the hall of fame the emancipator must always stand higher than the conqueror or the administrator, and the chance to win this supreme title is his. As his friends, we urge him to seize this great opportunity, and we but express the wish of this whole nation, who are praying to be delivered from "the body of this death." If Filipinos are fit to be members of the Commission, to govern provinces, to fill the highest judicial offices, they cannot be incapable of self-government.

The signs of progress are everywhere. Thus the New York Sun, which has never favored our cause, said a few days ago:

"The situation seems to be this: The Filipinos are ruled against their will 'for their own good.' The Americans rule them against the will of Americans for the good of the Filipinos, and to keep rival nations from breaking in. To this extent American occupation is 'for the good of the Americans.' Both the subjects and subjectors—who are also objectors—to the arrangement should contemplate the relation in a philosophic spirit. Each is a discipline to the other for the other's good."

And statements indicating disgust with the country's position could be quoted from newspapers of every political faith in all parts of the country.

An ardent supporter of Mr. Taft's policy, Professor Hart, writing from the islands, said last summer:

"If the hope of making big money in the Western Pacific was the thing that turned the scale in favor of ratifying the treaty in 1899, the United States was indeed buncoed, for the islands, though reasonably rich by nature, are no foundation of wealth either for the natives or the newcomers," . . . "the really fertile area of level land in the islands is probably not larger than the State of Alabama and not so valuable," . . . "whatever wealth there is in the Philippines can be had only by working for it, or by working still harder in the effort to get the yellow man to work for the white man," . . . "it is hopeless to look for immigration into the Philippines by any considerable number of American farmers or mechanics," and "we must expect that for many years to come few Americans will go out to settle in the Philippines except government

officials, including the army and navy, missionaries, and people of the missionary spirit, foremen and superintendents and business men who have something to invest," . . . "the race feeling seems due to the inexorable fact that the few foreigners are in power, and the many and the native must obey," . . . "it has been hoped that the Philippine Assembly, by exercising part of the governmental authority through elected representatives, would heal the breach; that a sizable majority would be found in that body which would accept the American government as a fixture, but hardly a member stands for the things that are," . . . "there is a fundamental difficulty here upon which time has little effect; the possession of some power seems to the Filipino—as it did to our ancestors in 1776—a reason for claiming more." Mr. Hart, moreover, tells us that "the Negro problem here is on the whole an easier one than the Philippine," and adds: "Here is the final fallacy of the whole situation. Americans are trying with the best will in the world to prove to the Filipinos that the political morals which fit America do not fit those parts of the outlying world which have become incorporated with America. There is no logic, and no benefit to those governed which makes self-government the only conceivable thing on the continent of America, and a dangerous thing in the islands of the Pacific." This comes very near the doctrine that we are preaching, and certainly betrays no enthusiasm for the Philippine adventure.

Let me cite another very recent witness, Dr. George A. Dorsey, who writes from the islands thus:

"What a farce we are over here, anyway. Our government of the islands is worthy of, we will say, Nevada. We do not know what we are trying to do, and we do not know how to do it; especially is our government here not a government of experts. There are some good men, but they are in a minority, and they owe their appointment not to eternal fitness but to fortuitous circumstances. Our improvements are not commensurate with the neglect, decay, and indifference which are to be seen on every hand, and the Filipinos despise us and have no respect for us.

"The wild tribes are interesting, and the mountains and valleys of the interior are glorious, but Manila and the whole fringe of so-called Christian coast is enough to make one sick. The old flag gains no added luster in flying aloft over the Philippine Islands. We have introduced slovenliness and decay, and



we neither foster native industries nor encourage foreign capital. And each day increases the bitterness between the white and the brown; and the newspapers in Manila, instead of devoting themselves to the legitimate sphere of a newspaper, carry on a perpetual cat and dog fight, adding to the bitterness of the racial hatred. . . .

"Why cannot we let the natives alone? They are the best agriculturists in the world; they build far better houses than the Christians, and live a much saner, cleaner, more wholesome life. What in the name of Abraham Lincoln do they want with a few stale crumbs of our educational system?

"But what is the use? On this boat is one, just only one, other white passenger. He has been in the civil service in Manila for four years; he is leaving a \$2,200 job to take one in Canton for \$1,500. He says 'Manila is no place for a white man.' "

When Senator Lodge can oppose an amendment to the tariff bill which declared that the bill was not to be construed "as furthering an intention to incorporate the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands into citizenship of the United States, nor to permanently annex said islands as an integral part" of our territory, on the ground that such a declaration had already been made in 1899, and he did not think it "necessary for the United States to keep repeating that it is going to keep faith, and thus exhibit suspicions of its own integrity," we have from him in effect a promise of independence, since he cannot now say that no promise was made, nor can he mean to uphold a breach of the nation's faith.

When the joint army and navy board decide to have no permanent naval station in the Philippines, one strong reason urged for acquiring and holding the islands disappears. No longer a coign of vantage, the highest authorities recognize that they are a weak point in our line.

When Dr. Lyman Abbott, at Lake Mohonk, presents a platform and Vice President Sherman moves its adoption which lays down the proposition that "The ultimate end of all just government is self-government," and concludes with these words:

"Whatever relationship may be established between America and her insular possessions in the future, just government must mean for all peoples under her protection and subject to her sovereignty, government for the benefit of the governed now,



that is justice, and eventual self-government which is the consummation of liberty." We see light in a dark place. Let Congress adopt these words, proposed by one of those who have been foremost in defending the conquest of the Philippines, and adopted by the Vice President of the United States; let them be incorporated in a joint resolution as a declaration of our purpose, and the Philippine problem is almost solved. Tell the islanders that some day they shall govern themselves, and it only remains to fix the day, a day which we may all cordially unite to hasten. With both peoples laboring in co-operation for the same end it could not be delayed. This resolution alone would help the Filipinos more than all the railways, roads, or like public improvements that we could make in a century. Thus close has time brought the Anti-Imperial League and Dr. Abbott.

The imperial bubble has broken. The country has awakened from the bright dreams of wealth, power and philanthropy which attended the annexation of the Philippines. It looks back upon a dark chapter of war against a people struggling for freedom, with its concomitants of blood and torture. It finds that Porto Rico, after ten years, is unprosperous and hostile, while the Filipinos have not abated one jot of their desire for independence, and race hatred between them and the Americans is growing. It contemplates without satisfaction what imperialism has cost and what it has brought in return. Worthless except as a moral discipline, which neither Americans nor Filipinos desire; offering no homes to our people and little prospect to investors; of no value as a naval station, why should we continue to incur the enormous expense of holding these islands against their will and fostering the bitter and growing hatred which our continued possession engenders among their people. "The man who has a thousand friends has not a friend to spare. But he who has one enemy will meet him everywhere." The lion may need the friendship of even the mouse.

Why not at least try to secure their freedom from foreign invasion by a neutralization treaty, and then help them to govern themselves as we have helped Japan and Cuba, rather than persist in trampling upon the principles of self-government by continuing a connection which is odious to both peoples. As helpers and advisers they may learn to like and trust as, as rulers never.

The forces upon which we rely are working inexorably

towards the result. There is no room for despair or doubt. Let the Filipinos steadily persist in demanding the independence which is their right; let them, by preserving order and using wisely such power as is granted to them, prove their fitness for more, and the promise which Mr. Lodge says the nation has already made will be repeated in terms that cannot be misinterpreted. But whether promised or not, their independence will come. For ourselves we can only press on till the "self-evident" truths are again recognized by every American, and our flag wherever it floats is again, in spirit and in truth, "the flag of the free."

The committee which had been appointed reported that the following list of officers for 1909-1910 was elected:

### President

Moorfield Storey.

### Treasurer

David Greene Haskins, Jr.

### Secretary

Erving Winslow.

### Executive Committee

Charles Gordon Ames  
James H. Bowditch  
Gamaliel Bradford  
Frederick Brooks  
Edward H. Clement  
Charles Fleischer

Edwin Ginn  
Albert S. Parsons  
Albion A. Perry  
John Ritchie  
Frank B. Sanborn  
Fiske Warren

### Vice-Presidents

#### ALABAMA.

Prof. Edgar B. Kay.  
Prof. H. A. Sayre.

#### ALASKA.

Martin Harrais, Esq.  
John Ronan, Esq.

#### ARIZONA.

Frank P. Trott, Esq.

#### ARKANSAS.

Hon. U. M. Rose.

#### CALIFORNIA.

Prof. Jacques Loeb.  
C. F. Lummis, Esq.  
H. C. Newbold, Esq.  
Hon. Warren Olney.  
William H. Rogers, Esq.

#### COLORADO.

Hon. Moses Hallett.  
Hon. T. M. Patterson.  
Hon. John F. Shafroth.  
Hon. C. S. Thomas.

#### CONNECTICUT.

Rev. Prof. C. M. Mead.  
Dean Henry Wade Rogers.  
Prof. W. G. Sumner.  
Rev. J. T. Sunderland.  
Hon. Charles F. Thayer.

#### DELAWARE.

William Canby Ferris, Esq.  
Hon. Richard R. Kenney.

#### DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

Dr. W. A. Croffut.  
Samuel Gompers, Esq.  
Gen. Nelson A. Miles.

## FLORIDA.

Hon. Thomas M. Shackelford.

## GEORGIA.

Hon. James H. Blount.

Hon. W. H. Fleming.

Gen. James Gadsden Holmes.

Hon. Peter W. Meldrim.

Hon. Hoke Smith.

## IDAHO.

Hon. Simon P. Donnelly.

## ILLINOIS.

Miss Jane Addams.

Francis F. Browne, Esq.

Frederick W. Gookin.

Prof. William Gardner Hale.

Prof. Ira W. Howerth.

Dr. William Morton Payne.

Geo. L. Paddock, Esq.

Mrs. Alice Thacher Post.

Rev. Jenkin Lloyd Jones.

Louis F. Post, Esq.

Prof. William M. Salter.

Mrs. Edwin Burritt Smith.

Prof. Frederick Starr.

Charles M. Sturges, Esq.

Prof. A. H. Tolman.

Sigmund Zeisler, Esq.

## INDIANA.

D. S. Burson.

Hon. H. U. Johnson.

## IOWA.

Hon. Horace Boies.

Hon. William Larrabee.

Hon. Cato Sells.

Hon. Henry Vollmer.

## KANSAS.

Hugh P. Farrelly, Esq.

## KENTUCKY.

James G. Howard, Esq.

## LOUISIANA.

Prof. James Hardy Dillard.

## MAINE.

President George C. Chase.

Dr. Seth C. Gordon.

Hon. Luther F. McKinney.

## MARYLAND.

Hon. John V. LeMoyne.

Hon. George L. Wellington.

## MASSACHUSETTS.

Magnus W. Alexander, Esq.

Samuel Bowles, Jr., Esq.

Col. C. R. Codman.

Rev. J. H. Crooker.

Rev. C. F. Dole.

Thomas B. Fitzpatrick, Esq.

Francis J. Garrison, Esq.

Rev. Edward M. Gushee.

President G. Stanley Hall.

Hon. J. M. Head.

Roger Sherman Hoar, Esq.

Prof. William James.

Prof. Lewis Jerome Johnson.

Hon. George W. Kelley.

Henry W. Lamb, Esq.

Edwin D. Mead, Esq.

Mrs. Lucia Ames Mead.

Hon. R. M. Morse.

James P. Munroe, Esq.

Gen. Francis A. Osborn.

Hon. Herbert C. Parsons.

Hon. A. A. Putnam.

Hon. Josiah Quincy.

Rev. W. H. Scott.

Dr. Patrick J. Timmins.

Hon. Winslow Warren.

## MICHIGAN.

Charles S. Hampton, Esq.

Charles Humphrey, Esq.

## MINNESOTA.

Frederick G. Corser, Esq.

Hon. John Lind.

## MISSISSIPPI.

Hon. John S. Williams.

## MISSOURI.

John P. Herrmann, Esq.

## MONTANA.

Massena Bullard, Esq.

Andrew Dunsire, Esq.

Edward Scharnikow, Esq.

## NEBRASKA.

A. J. Sawyer, Esq.

Rt. Rev. Arthur S. Williams.

## NEVADA.

Dr. J. J. Sullivan.

## NEW HAMPSHIRE.

Hon. Henry F. Hollis.

## NEW JERSEY.

Ralph W. E. Donges, Esq.

Hon. Francis E. Woodruff.

## NEW YORK.

Everett V. Abbot, Esq.

Rev. Richard W. Boynton.

Andrew Carnegie, Esq.

Samuel L. Clemens, Esq.

R. Fulton Cutting, Esq.

Charles Stewart Davison, Esq.

Hon. Louis R. Ehrich.

Col. Patrick Ford.

Austen G. Fox, Esq.

Henry W. Hardon, Esq.

Henry Hentz, Esq.

William Dean Howells, Esq.

Hon. Thomas Mott Osborne.

Rev. C. H. Parkhurst.

Hon. George F. Seward.

Hon. Edward M. Shepard.

## NORTH CAROLINA.

President L. L. Hobbs.

## NORTH DAKOTA.

A. C. Reinecke, Esq.

## OHIO.

Gen. Roeliff Brinkerhoff.

Hon. John J. Lentz.

Hon. Rufus B. Smith.

Edward Stang, Esq.

Charles B. Wilby, Esq.

## OKLAHOMA.

Dr. D. H. Patton.

## OREGON.

James Hennessy Murphy, Esq.

H. B. Nicholas, Esq.

Col. C. E. S. Wood.

## PENNSYLVANIA.

Dr. W. Horace Hoskins.

Hon. Alfred H. Love.

Mickle C. Paul, Esq.

Frank Stephens, Esq.

Dr. Robert Ellis Thompson.

Herbert Welsh, Esq.

## RHODE ISLAND.

Hon. Lucius F. C. Garvin.

Rt. Rev. W. N. McVickar.

Edwin C. Pierce, Esq.

## SOUTH CAROLINA.

Willie Jones, Esq.

## SOUTH DAKOTA.

Hon. Levi McGee.

Joseph B. Moore, Esq.

Hon. Richard F. Pettigrew.

## TENNESSEE.

Hon. John Wesley Gaines.

## TEXAS.

Frederick Opp, Esq.

Hon. James L. Slayden.

## UTAH.

P. J. Daly, Esq.

## VERMONT.

Major F. W. Childs.

Rev. Charles H. Pennoyer.

## VIRGINIA.

President George H. Denny.

## WASHINGTON.

C. G. Heifner, Esq.

## WEST VIRGINIA.

Hon. A. S. Johnston.

Hon. John E. Stealey.

## WISCONSIN.

William George Bruce, Esq.

## WYOMING.

Hon. John C. Hamm.

On motion of MR. DAVID GREENE HASKINS, JR., it was voted that the Executive Committee should have power to add to its number.

The REV. CHARLES G. AMES offered the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted:

Resolved: That the Anti-Imperialist League claims direct succession to the founders of the republic, who gloried in this: "That the rights for which they contended were the rights of human nature";

That we reaffirm the earlier declaration of President McKinley that "annexation by conquest is criminal aggression"; and we couple with this the expressed conviction of President Benjamin Harrison, that "any people who hold their rights and liberties only by the consent of another people are really slaves";

That the course of events seems to prove that the permanent subjection of the Philippine Islands must involve our republic in a continual forging of political chains, and

That we therefore renew our demand in the name of our

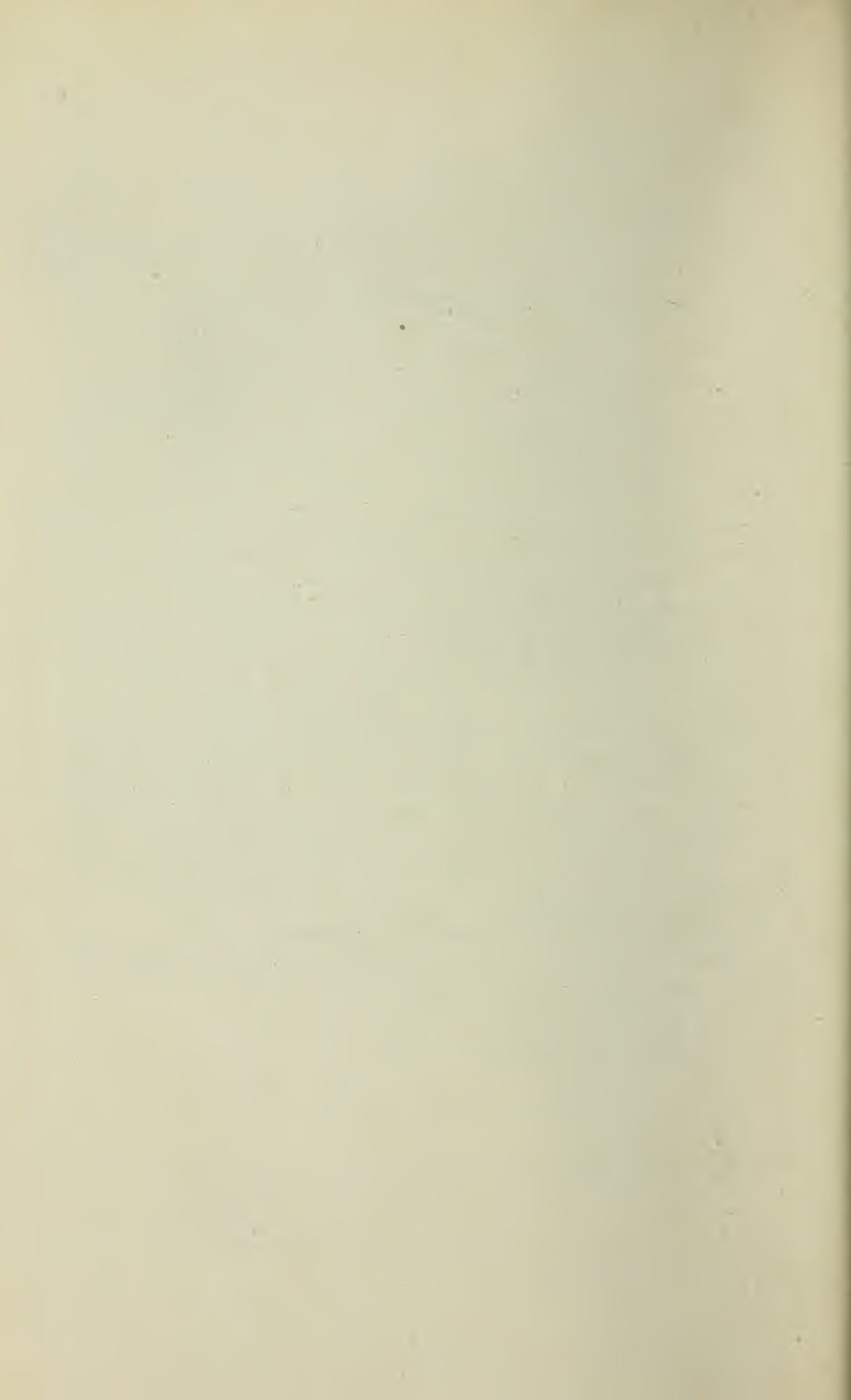


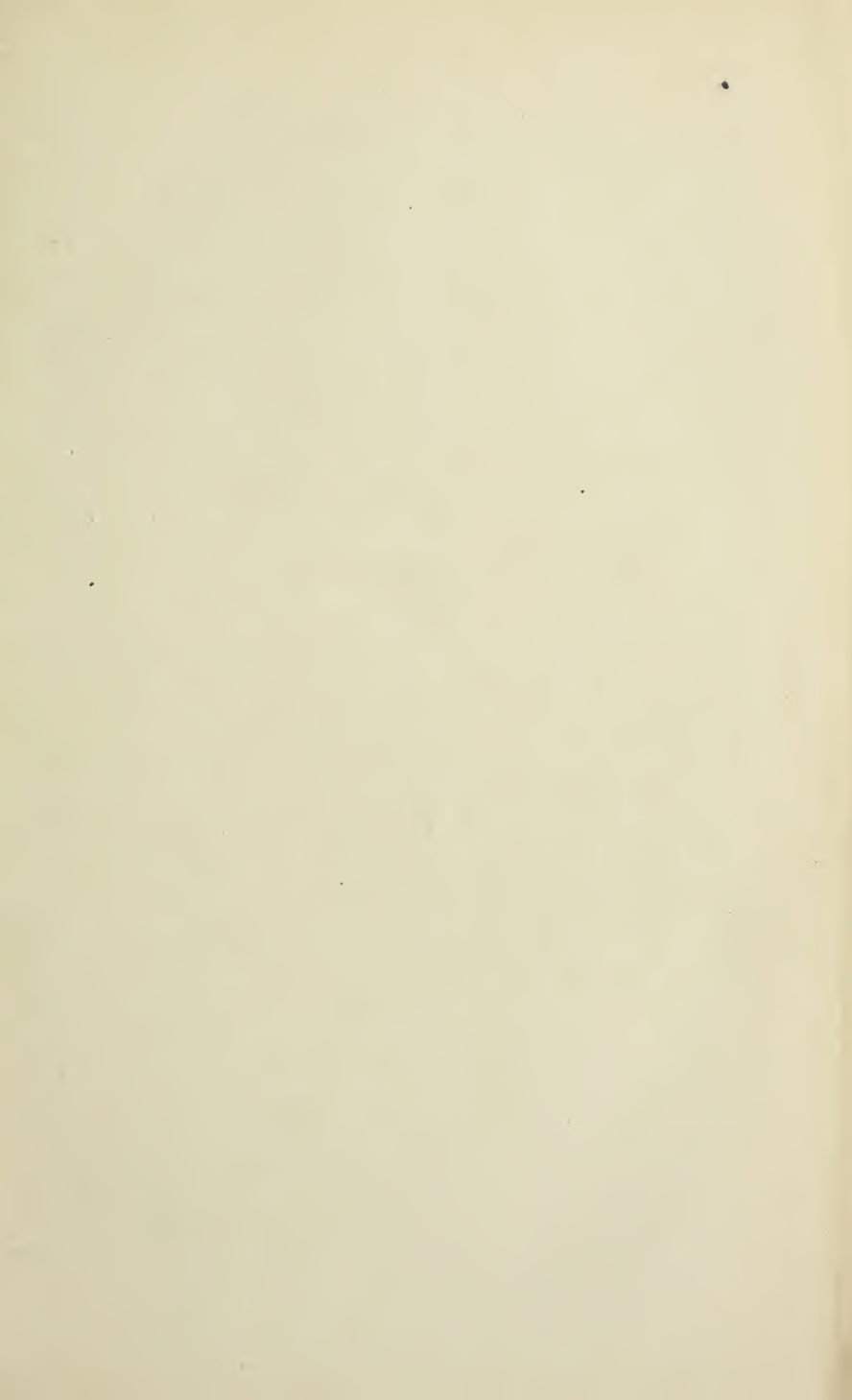
national honor as well as in the name of 8,000,000 of disarmed and helpless people that the government of the United States shall promptly pledge itself to the policy of conceding Philippine independence at the earliest practical period.

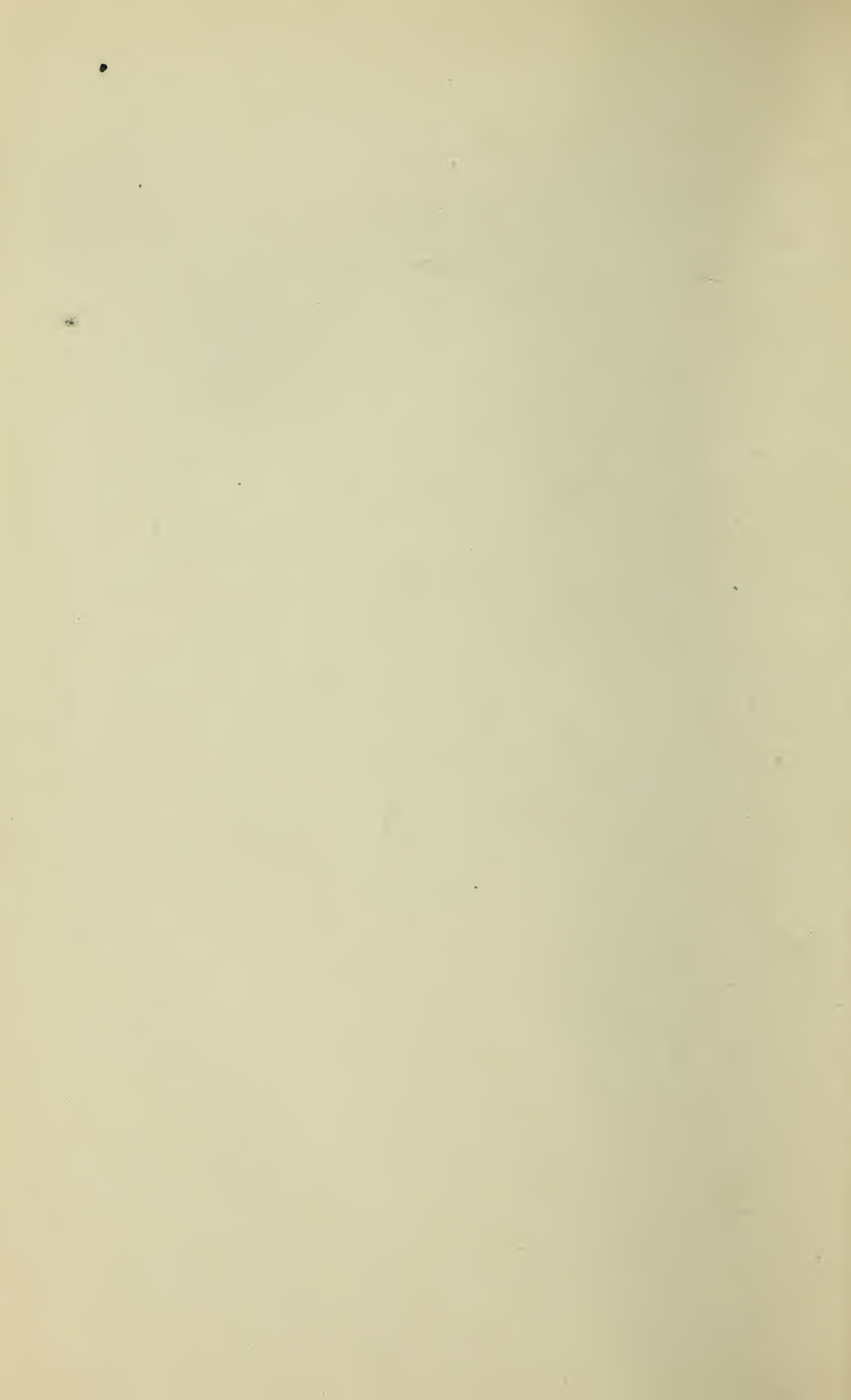
MR. F. B. SANBORN said: We have no reason to be discouraged at the present aspect of our cause. The two great parties now stand in relation to Philippine independence much as they did fifty years ago upon the slavery question,—the Democrats upholding slavery, the Republicans opposing it; while today the position is reversed,—the Democrats as a party favoring freedom for the Filipinos, and the Republicans nominally and ostensibly for colonial subjection there. But let the opposition party win, as they very well may in next year's Congressional elections, and you would see the Republicans coming over to the side of Philippine independence, as both parties at the North did in the Civil War, for the emancipation of the slaves. A single political overturn now would dispel all this idle talk about a colonial bureau, and perpetual subjection for the Filipinos. Other political issues would come up, and the Republicans, who now very languidly support Mr. Taft in his inveterate opinions, would throw that issue overboard in their anxiety to save as much of their high tariff as they could from the sacrilegious hands of a Democratic and "Insurgent" House of Representatives. A single party defeat would put a wholly new face on our question, in which a great majority of the voters now practically agree with us. They are tired of the failed experiment in the far East, and will accept any easy solution of our problem there.

MR. JOHN RITCHIE suggested that special efforts be made to increase the funds of the organization, and a number of pledges were given to the Treasurer.

The meeting was dissolved.











Filipino Chamber of Commerce,  
Manila, 20th. October, 1909.

The President, Anti-Imperialist League, Boston, Mass., U. S. A.

Sir: The Filipino Chamber of Commerce, the honorable chair of which is commended to me, cannot fail to address your noble League this message of sympathy and affection, chiefly for your campaign in favor of the economical interest of the Philippine Islands.

As it is set forth, this Chamber does not wish to allude here any political aspect that may embrace the noble and uninterested campaign being realized by the Anti-Imperialist League of your honorable Presidency.

The objects that compel the Filipino Chamber of Commerce in giving this step are those of the most profound thankfulness toward your goodselves, for the defence you are making of the economical interest of this Archipelago, intimately linked in almost every case with the political evolutions operating in America, ever since this powerful Nation assumed for herself before the world the responsibility of these Islands' fate, giving aid in her political and economical developments since the Spanish sovereignty in these Islands ceased, this tutelage having passed to America.

From this date the governments that succeeded each other have passed a diversity of laws and dispositions that affected the commercial development of this country, for it is known that in many cases the spirit of the laws, even those of a pure political character, find analogy with civil life of the people, affecting its different branches.

The Anti-Imperialist League, with a high standard nobility, deserving our warm sympathy, has been working in favor of these Islands, and therefore this Chamber, composed of business men, entirely strange to political controversies, has decided to address you this thankful message with the request that you please transmit this feeling to all the Members of your League, worthy of the gratefulness of our country.

Very respectfully,

[Seal.]

V. D. FERNANDEZ, Chairman.

25.373  
Am 8w  
v.12

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

You are earnestly asked to hand this after reading, to some other person who will also give it careful consideration.

REPORT  
OF THE  
Twelfth Annual Meeting  
OF THE  
Anti-Imperialist League  
NOVEMBER 26, 1910

---

PUBLISHED BY  
THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST LEAGUE  
BOSTON





## REPORT

The Twelfth Annual Meeting of the Anti-Imperialist League was held November 26, 1910, at the office of the Secretary, 20 Central Street, and adjourned to November 29, at the rooms of the Twentieth Century Club, No. 3 Joy Street, Boston.

At two o'clock the meeting, which was an uncommonly large and enthusiastic one, was called to order by President Moorfield Storey, who asked for the

### REPORT OF THE SECRETARY.

The past year has been, from a philosophical point of view, one of the most eventful periods in the history of the Anti-Imperialist League. The attitude of a prophet who plumes himself upon the fulfilment of his prophecy is not an agreeable one, but in this meeting of the "school of prophets" it is a pious duty to consider together the fulfilment of the prediction, made by the founders of the League, of the result sure to ensue were the national crime then in contemplation to be perpetrated. Imperialism at home, with its assumptions of increased executive power, its disregard of the sanction of the courts, and progressive centralizing of authority, has been advocated and proclaimed in such high quarters and in so open and sweeping a manner as would have been impossible before the past decade of colonial administration. The condemnation of individuals as promoters of imperialism may be unjust. They are to a considerable degree doubtless creatures of the environment and the conditions. But the mantle of charity can by no effort be stretched so as to cover the responsibility of the creator of these conditions, who was, according to Senator Hoar's tremendous arraignment, the author of American imperialism.

Imperialism has developed into a definite claim for a permanent colonial policy. President Taft reconciles this policy

with his professions of attachment to the Filipinos, inasmuch as he assumes that they would be a happier people as permanent colonists of the United States. Thus, though bound by his pledge that a pro-forma opportunity of independence at some distant day should be offered them, he finds it not inconsistent to do everything in his power to promote the sale of their lands to foreign exploiters. When the time comes, in the course of the two or three generations suggested by Mr. Taft, to make the proffer of independence, the prevailing influences of course will prevent its being listened to, or there will be nobody to whom the proffer can be made!

What is a more obvious foundation for imperialism than the conquest of foreign peoples and their government as subject colonists: in all history its creator and minister?

It is extremely improbable that the heady and passionate elements of character which have marred the career and crippled the influence of a notorious American citizen, originally possessed of high ideals of purity and of civic righteousness, would have developed into New Nationalism, without the intoxication of the Navy Bureau and San Juan Hill.

The modification of the tariff between the United States and the Philippine Islands was carried through the Congress by every political artifice of cajolery and intimidation familiar to the practical politician who believes that the end justifies the means.

The policy of throwing the Philippine lands open to purchasers and the general development of the islands by American capitalists immediately followed the passage of the tariff bill, a policy persistently contended for by the President of the United States when Governor-General of the Philippine Islands and ever since.

One important obstacle stood in the way. By the Organic Act of the Philippine Islands, a measure carried through by Senator Hoar after his long and powerful protest against the annexation of the archipelago proved vain, it was provided that not more than sixteen hectares of land should be sold to any one person and not more than one thousand and twenty-four hectares to any corporation or association of persons.

The purchase of the friar lands was seized upon to give an opportunity for the exploitation of the islands. The plan was inaugurated in the archipelago, but some misgiving having been

felt lest the authority of the local government might be an insufficient sanction, it was resolved to resort to the Attorney-General of the United States for an opinion to justify the sales of these friar lands in quantities suitable for large investors. Such perfect assurance, however, was entertained of the nature of this opinion, that action was taken and sales of land were effected before Judge Wickersham's deliverance was made. Here began a campaign not yet ended, in which the very life of the Filipinos was contended for by their friends, against the persistent efforts of the Administration. An opinion was given by the President of our League ably controverting the Attorney-General's convenient decision, and a campaign was undertaken in Congress led by the Hon. John A. Martin of Colorado, the Hon. James L. Slayden of Texas and the Hon. J. Harry Covington of Maryland, to stop the sales of land, to cause an inquiry to be made into those sales which had been already made, and, if possible, to cancel them. Pleas were also made for the Filipinos by the Hon. Thomas P. Gore of Oklahoma, in the Senate and the Hon. Robert N. Page of North Carolina, in the House. An elaborate search was made through more than forty-one thousand pages of Philippine documents in order to disclose the steps which had been taken in regard to the Philippine land sales, a few of the results whereof, chosen at random, are here briefly epitomized:

The reasons for acquiring these friar lands were entirely political, as all of the recent insurrections had broken out on the densely populated friar estates, and the sole purpose of acquiring them was to divide them up among the tenants and other Filipinos, selling them at reasonable prices and on long time, thus making peaceful, contented citizens out of dissatisfied tenants. In the testimony before the committee of Congress there was not a line or a word spoken by any witness which suggested that any portion of these lands was to be used for exploitation purposes.

Within five months from the passage of the Organic Act by Congress, July 1, 1902, the Philippine Commission was appealing to Congress to raise the 2,500 acre limitation on crown lands which could be sold to corporations to 25,000 acres, in order that the islands might be exploited with gigantic sugar corporations. This clamor for exploitation continued from year to year until 1907 on the plea that there was plenty of land both for the natives and for the exploiters. Having failed to secure the consent of Congress to exploit the crown lands, the Philippine

government took the bit in its mouth on June 3, 1908, and repealed the limitations which it had provided for the selling of friar lands and announced that hereafter it proposed to sell them regardless of limit as to area.

Where 20,000 native tenants are compelled to pay an average annual rental of \$1.30 an acre, the Havemeyer sugar exploiting syndicate is enabled to purchase outright a 55,000 acre estate on annual payments of 32 cents per acre.

While under the amended friar land law of the Philippine Islands, the purchaser of friar lands is given twenty-five years in which to make his payments, on several of these estates the average rental charged the native is in excess of the interest on the purchase price plus one twenty-fifth of the purchase price, or, in other words, the natives are charged more rent than they are supposed to have to pay in annual payments in order to purchase the land.

After appropriating 100,000 pesos of public funds to loan to agriculturists who had lost everything and were unable to put in their crops, rules and regulations were issued whereby these loans could be made only for the purpose of cultivating sugar cane in certain restricted areas where the tenants were compelled to furnish the cane to certain mills located on estates which had been taken possession of by the Manila Railway Company, the Speyer syndicate of New York.

Sixteen resolutions of inquiry in various forms were introduced by Mr. Martin, one by Mr. Slayden directed to the Secretary of War, and one by Mr. Covington directed to the Attorney-General. They were reported after reference by the Insular Committee to the House, and the last two resolutions were passed with some amendments. It was apparently the Administration's intention that Mr. Martin's searching inquiries should be hung up with no further consideration;—that which the Committee on Insular Affairs had given them being relied on to placate any dissatisfaction which might be aroused during the last Congressional campaign by their total neglect. In the very last day of the session and in its very last hour Mr. Martin procured recognition for the consideration of a resolution ordering the House Committee on Insular Affairs "to make a complete and thorough investigation of the Interior Department of the Philippine government touching the administration of Philippine lands and all matters of fact and law pertaining thereto, whether the same are to be had in the United States, the Philippine Islands or elsewhere," with the usual powers of



such a committee, the expenses to be charged to the contingent fund of the House. This action was effected by an alertness, a presence of mind, and a command of parliamentary usage not often excelled. It is agreeable for us to know that in obtaining recognition Mr. Martin had the able assistance, without which after all he might have been unsuccessful, of the Hon. Samuel W. McCall.

In regard to the whole question of exploitation, the testimony of President Schurman of Cornell University, former Commissioner to the Philippine Islands, and of Dr. David P. Barrows, once the devoted Superintendent of Education there, is important:

April 9, 1910.

I was heartily in favor of the policy championed by Senator Hoar, and embodied in the act of 1902, limiting the area of sale of lands in the Philippine Islands. In the absence of such limitation the lands would have been sold in large blocks to individuals or corporations, and the Filipinos would have had imposed upon them all the evils of monopolies and trusts from which we are suffering in the United States, without the means of protecting themselves against those evils which we enjoy from the right to choose Representatives and Senators to make and repeal our laws.

I suppose that the people and Congress of the United States have the power to do anything they like with this Philippine question. But while it is glorious to have a giant's strength, it is tyrannous to use it like a giant. And the subjection of the Filipinos to capitalistic domination, however we may cloak the business in terms of trade and commerce, is oppression and cruelty of the same order as the most despotic empires have ever practiced on subjugated and dependent peoples.

I hope, therefore, that the Philippine act will be so amended as to bring the lands purchased from the friars under the same restrictions as that act imposed upon the sale of all other lands in the Philippine Islands. If this is not done, and if these friars' lands are sold in large areas to individuals or corporations, we shall have officially abandoned the policy of the "Philippines for the Filipinos" which we have proclaimed as established by the United States since the islands came under our sovereignty. The Filipinos would feel that we had betrayed a most sacred trust, a trust involving the welfare and economic

independence of seven millions of people, for whose destiny we have become responsible.

J. G. SCHURMAN.

July 8, 1910.

I should not wish to be understood to favor the general leasing of public lands in large holdings, especially to foreign investors. On the contrary, I think that the great effort now being made by Governor-General Forbes to attract heavy foreign investment is fraught with danger, and it seems to disregard the important fact that the splendid economic development which the Philippines had from 1835, when they were opened to foreign trade, was accomplished without the investment in productive industry of foreign capital. The money that built up the industries of the islands was made in the islands and the fine properties developed there were, with few exceptions, owned by natives, residents or settlers.

Spain's laws for utilizing public lands, forests and mines in the Philippines were framed about 1880 and were scientifically conceived in the public interest. They were far more enlightened than the extreme individualistic system of the United States, which many seek to have introduced into the Philippines.

There is a "conservation problem" in the Philippines, and its solution must be wise or the future opportunities of a rapidly multiplying population will be sacrificed. The government's first duty is to the small farmer or "peasant proprietor" and to the young native merchant and manufacturer, who are just coming into evidence with the maturity of a class educated in the public schools. The building up of these classes and their encouragement and education is a far more important endeavor than the attraction of foreign capital or the pursuit of a policy of quick returns.

DAVID P. BARROWS.

The plan of the land sales so far has not worked out altogether smoothly and to the satisfaction of the purchasers. The labor question is a very vital one. The American governor of Mindoro, where a Mr. Poole had acquired fifty-five thousand acres of the friar lands, prepared a flaming advertisement for the English and Spanish newspapers "urging the Filipinos to emigrate to that island of prospective sugar," which reads:

“Attention, Filipinos! Come to Mindoro! Become independent farmers, and earn enough to support your family. There are large areas of public land in Mindoro suitable for agriculture, which can be obtained by purchase, lease or by right of homestead. If you prefer to earn enough first to enable you to build a house and buy animals, you can obtain employment on the sugar estates at thirty-five cents a day.” The gist of the matter lies, of course, in the last paragraph. If the Filipinos without capital or ability to become independent farmers could be lured thus to a remote province their employment on the sugar estates would be likely to be practically enforced employment!

Within a very few days the dispatches from the Philippines tell us that reported bloodshed in the islands is caused by labor troubles. It is said that the Filipinos are indolent and resent any effort to compel them to work, and that the outbreak resulted from too vigorous measures to meet this condition, taken by foreigners owning plantations. Between these lines what an eloquent appeal!

Happily the debate in Congress and the stringent resolution of investigation has had its effect. Commissioner Worcester and other officials are said to be coming home prepared with eight tons of documents to meet the inquiry. Meanwhile the Secretary of War in his last remarks at Manila said: “In regard to the friar lands, at the time of making contracts for other sales of large amounts it was not supposed that there would be any opposition. The principal idea was to reduce the bonded debt as rapidly as possible. Now that opposition has declared itself, and the affair is being investigated by Congress, no large sale of these lands will be authorized until the situation is entirely cleared up.” That this state of things may continue is to be most earnestly hoped by the friends of the Filipinos. As an independent letter in the *Evening Post* of New York said a month ago, “American capital is being invested here to such an extent that independence is not in the slightest degree a present menace, and the more capital comes the farther off is independence.”

Mention was made in our last report of the libel suit against the native organ of independence, *El Renacimiento*, for a thinly veiled attack upon one of the Commissioners under the name of a “Bird of Prey.” The suit prevailed. The paper was sequestrated and the property of its representatives seized. *El Renacimiento* was immediately succeeded by *La Vanguardia*,

representing exactly the same views, though presenting them with some added caution,—and by a paper called *El Ideal*, which is the organ of the “*Nacionalistas*.”

In this connection it might be well to add that it comes to us from most trustworthy sources that a multitude of the American officials in the Philippine Islands, from high to low, are engaged in private business, necessarily more or less compromising for government employees, so that the committee’s investigation, if sufficiently thorough and far-reaching, may justify the point of view if not the methods of the unfortunate newspaper.

It was purposed to hold an Anti-Imperialist conference at the Plaza Hotel in New York last year, but owing to various engagements of persons who had desired to attend it, a conference by mail was substituted, resulting in the adoption of the following petition to the Senate and House of Representatives. This petition was signed by a large number of prominent citizens in the United States,—bishops, lawyers, educators, including the presidents of leading universities and college professors, editors of newspapers and men of affairs. It was presented in the Senate by the Hon. William Murray Crane.

March, 1910.

To the Senate and House of Representatives in Congress Assembled:

The undersigned, citizens of the United States, believing in the principles upon which our Government was founded, and satisfied that the experience of the country during the last ten years has fully justified our faith, hereby respectfully and earnestly urge:

First. That Congress shall declare in unequivocal terms the purpose of the United States to grant their independence to the Philippine Islands;

Second. That in order to secure the Filipino people in the enjoyment of their independence the Government shall endeavor by treaty with other nations to procure the neutralization of the Philippine Islands and to insure for them such a position as under like treaties is now enjoyed by Switzerland, Norway and other small countries;

Third. That Congress shall make no change in the law which will enable foreign capitalists to exploit the islands for their own pecuniary benefit, or will establish there the trusts from



whose oppressive control the people of the United States are struggling to free themselves at home;

Fourth. That measures shall be adopted at once which will enable the Filipino people to develop their country for themselves and with their own capital, and which will reduce the crushing burden of taxation to which they are now subjected by the expenses of the insular administration.

We urge these things because we believe that they are right, and that the substitution of arbitrary power for government by the people under our flag indicates a steadily increasing tendency away from free government, which should be resisted and stopped. It is clear that the people of this country know little of the facts, care little what is done in our dependency, and are tired of their colonial adventure. While these conditions exist the interests of the dependency must suffer, and no one can doubt that these conditions are likely to be permanent. We feel that every American citizen who is opposed to the policy of colonialism should make his opposition known, and should insist on learning all the facts, believing that were these known the policy would be abandoned.

With race problems, labor problems, taxation problems at home, let us not remain supine while we are being committed to the creation of like problems in distant colonies, problems which will remain to be a constant source of trouble and expense until the country does what we urge it to do now: that is, leave every people free to govern themselves.

There are no truer words than Lincoln's:

"Those who deny freedom to others deserve it not themselves, and under a just God will not long retain it."

The petition being circulated in the Philippine Islands excited the most fervent and widespread interest. Meetings were held during the summer and early autumn throughout the islands in every province and almost in every pueblo. In these meetings the Filipinos expressed their gratitude to the introducer and signers of it and prepared innumerable petitions of their own. A report of one of these meetings illustrates the enthusiasm of the people:

"It was held in an immense field with a temporary platform of bamboo for the speakers. The weather was threatening and there came on a furious storm in which the speaker was repeatedly interrupted by peals of thunder. Several times he at-

tempted to break off that the people might seek shelter from the shower, but each time he was prevented by shouts of protest, and the meeting continued in spite of the thunder, lightning and rain."

Digests of some of these memorials are appended:

The Joint Memorial of the Nationalist and Progressive Parties.

They join in urging the continuation of Chinese exclusion, and protest against the sale of public lands to corporations or large holders, pointing out the responsibility of the government toward the Filipino tenants of such lands. They also join in urging that the proportion of Filipinos to Americans in the public service be progressively increased.

Petition of the Nationalists of the Province of Iloilo, signed by the presidents of the local committees.

Fourteen years have passed since the Filipinos first attempted to throw off the Spanish yoke. Although defeated on the field of battle by the Americans, the Filipinos have never lost hope. Since the inauguration of civil government in 1901, they have been proving their capacity for self-government, and this proof has been especially clear in the work of the Assembly; and the Nationalists of Iloilo ratify the declaration of the Assembly in favor of independence on the following grounds:

That a government should rest upon the consent of the governed; that the Filipinos have proved their capacity; that the United States, which has always stood as the defender of liberty, can not consistently deprive another nation of its freedom; that the trusts are already getting a hold in the islands; that if the influence of the moneyed interests prevents independence, and the islands are delivered over to their exploitation, the promises of the United States will be violated. The differences between the two races are so profound, as to forever prevent complete understanding or the establishment of an acceptable government.

Therefore, we solemnly reiterate the statement that for the Filipinos there is but one question, the question of independence. Our demand is based upon justice and humanity.

Liga Popular Nacionalista.

Manila, August 29, 1910.

The League bases its petition for immediate independence

on the historic precedent of Cuba, which, with one third the territory, population and resources, had no greater claim to independence. The wealth of the country is sufficient, and steadily increasing. The people are laborious and peace-loving. The percentage of criminals to the law-abiding population is but eight to each ten thousand, as compared with thirteen in the United States. Under American control they have had ten years of practice in government, including five provincial and two national elections.

The League protests against the law proscribing the Philippine flag, and the limitations placed upon the playing of the national march; against the inequalities of the civil service, in which the average salary of the American employee is P3,225.63, and of the Filipino only P914.03; against the American intolerance of the Nationalist party; against the inadequacy of currency in circulation, P40,337,982 in relation to the taxes, P42,000,000, resulting in usurious rates of interest, which frequently rise as high as sixty percent per annum. It protests that the Filipinos are overtaxed, and that American impatience to realize improvements is laying too heavy a burden upon the resources of the country.

An illustrious American, Daniel Webster, has said that however light may be the yoke of foreign domination, it is impossible that the subjugated people should be happy. And this, Mr. Secretary, is indeed the truth, for however light may be the yoke of American domination as compared with Spanish, the Philippine people are, nevertheless, increasingly discontented as they realize more and more the fundamental impossibility of happiness under a colonial form of government.

Memorial presented by the Nationalist Party to Secretary of War Dickinson, Manila, September 4, 1910.

This party, organized in 1906, counts among its members about eighty-one percent of the voters, sixty-six out of the eighty-one deputies to the Assembly, and twenty-three out of thirty-three provincial governors. It asks for immediate independence on the ground of proved capacity for self-government, and as being in accordance with American principles. This Memorial takes up the argument in favor of independence under four heads.

I. The fact that the Filipinos organized a popular government of their own indicates their capacity for self-government.

A glance back over Philippine history shows that the early

Spanish government was altruistic in spirit, and in many ways admirable, developing a people homogeneous in character, and with high political ideals. The failure of the Spanish government to realize that the era of tutelage had reached its natural end resulted in the insurrection of 1896. In 1898, when the entire archipelago, with the exception of Manila, came under Filipino control, a simple but adequate popular government was established, with an elective congress and local government by town meeting. It is extremely important to understand the democratic character of the government thus established in order to appreciate the ideals which the Filipinos, uninfluenced by foreign pressure, endeavored to embody. This government was universally recognized, and rested upon the consent of the governed.

II. The Filipinos have demonstrated their capacity for self-government under American control.

The Americans have endeavored to establish a democratic form of government and to improve conditions, both moral and material. In this effort they would have failed, had it not been for the intelligent co-operation of the Filipinos. To this co-operation is due the maintenance of public order, the very marked progress in public education, peaceful elections, success in municipal and provincial government, and in the administration of justice. But especially has this co-operation been successful in the case of the Assembly, notwithstanding that it was composed mainly of Nationalistas, the party of the opposition which had hitherto been excluded from active participation in the government.

III. A consideration of alleged objections to granting independence.

It has been claimed that violence and disorder would result; yet so law-abiding is the temper of the people that the revolution of 1896 to 1899 is the only general disturbance in the history of the islands. Ladronism disappeared under Aguinaldo's government, and would doubtless disappear again under a native government, with the right to bear arms restored to the people.

The ignorance of the people, and the lack of a common language has also been urged. That there is a considerable percentage of illiteracy is a fact lamented by none so deeply as the Filipinos themselves; but illiteracy does not necessarily imply stupidity, lack of civic responsibility, or defiance of



authority. Moreover, this objection is disappearing; there are probably 700,000 children and young people in the schools, public and private. The diversity of dialect is no greater than in several European countries, and the only real basis of hostility between Christian and non-Christian tribes is a religious one, which disappears with the separation of church and state. "Caciquism," about which so much has been said, is no more than a manifestation, in much milder form, of the abuse of power which, in the United States is so apparent in the corruption of politics. As for lack of experience, experience comes only from practice. The Filipinos might well be as successful as the Americans claim they have been in their colonial administration, in which they had had no previous experience. And a native government would not have to contend with those difficulties which arise from race prejudice, intolerance, arrogance, misunderstanding, and lack of co-operation.

IV. The indefinite retention of the islands endangers independence. The Taft policy produces doubt and confusion and bad feeling on both sides, making efficient administration impossible. It makes the introduction of foreign capital a menace instead of a blessing and is responsible for much misfit legislation and for the continuance of economic distress.

The persistent desire of the Filipinos for independence is rooted deep in their remembrance of that brief space of time when they experienced the joy of holding their interests and their future in their own hands. Then it was that they learned how light is the yoke of self-imposed laws, how close and loyal the co-operation between government and people of the same race, working together for the common good. They abandoned the vices of the oppressed, and assumed the dignity of free men. It was this experience which strengthened them to resist to the utmost the new domination. They can never forget the little time of their happiness nor look upon the present regime as other than temporary, nor give up their hope sometime to realize their plans for a prosperous and progressive country of their own.

These and other petitions were presented in great numbers to Secretary Dickinson. There was a general stir of popular feeling in the islands connected with these petitions; perhaps also the extraordinary reception given to the patriotic Philippine Commissioner, Mr. Quezon, which took place at the same time and more than rivalled that of the Secretary of War, excited

Mr. Dickinson to wrath, for on an important public occasion when he was interpellated in regard to the aspiration of the people for independence, he is reported to have said: "Let me tell you that the Philippine people need not hope for independence, now or ever!" Doubtless the Secretary repented of this intemperate and thoughtless utterance as soon as it was made, and at all events neither Mr. Dickinson nor the Administration of which he forms a part is likely to be the arbiter of Philippine independence

Undoubtedly, however, he betrayed the disguise maintained in higher quarters and revealed the truth that the exploiter and his patron, who love the acres of the Filipino people, care nothing for the Filipino nor for his liberty. While the Filipino entreats that a promise of independence shall be made which will warn off the trusts and syndicates and will steady the aspirations of his people, the investor would relegate the question of independence to the indefinite future or dispose of it altogether. Thus, the Hon. W. Morgan Shuster, formerly of the Customs Service in the Philippine Islands, in a paper which he read at Clark University and later at Lake Mohonk says it is not enough that the Administration openly favors a long continuance of our sovereign rule: "Capital . . . . is not in the habit of acting on mere expressions of opinion in matters so vital to its safety . . . . I believe that a declaration at the proper time by Congress of the United States that our sovereignty will not be withdrawn from the islands for a period of at least fifty years . . . . would go far to reassure those who are at present deterred by the comparative uncertainty in which the future of the Philippines is veiled!"

Yet, in a larger, a national view, it seems that the American nation is at last turning away from the bitter fruits of imperialism. It will not be long, when the effects are recognized, before the cause is detected. The first President of the League, well-learned in the course of political events, believed that the independence of the Philippine Islands would only come with the fall of that party which was responsible for their malevolent assimilation, and although all the great men of that party were opposed to the early assumption of imperialism, its contemporary leaders, with but few exceptions, have accepted the disgraceful situation with acquiescence or indifference. There is great hope now that we may be permitted to show the people

the wrong and the dangers of the position and that they may be induced to retrace, before it is too late, the steps by which they have been led away from the old paths,—so that they may say with Vaughn Moody, that great poet whom we can ill spare, since he loved his countrymen and loved liberty so well:

“Tempt not our weakness, our cupidity!  
For save we let the island men go free,  
Those baffled and dislaureled ghosts  
Will curse us from the lamentable coasts  
Where walk the frustrate dead.  
The cup of trembling shall be drained quite,  
Eaten the sour bread of astonishment,  
With ashes of the hearth shall be made white  
Our hair, and wailing shall be in the tent;  
Then on your guiltier head  
Shall our intolerable self-disdain  
Wreak suddenly its anger and its pain;  
For manifest in that disastrous light  
We shall discern the right  
And do it, tardily.—O ye who lead,  
Take heed!

Blindness we may forgive, but baseness we will smite.”

#### THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

The Executive Committee has held without interruption its stated fortnightly meetings, at the first of which Mr. Albert S. Parsons was elected chairman.

The Committee has elected from time to time as Vice-Presidents of the League the following persons: Professor John Dewey, of Columbia University, New York; Professor Starr Willard Cutting, of the University of Chicago; the Hon. James Simons, of Charleston, South Carolina; the Rev. A. A. Berle, of Boston; Mr. Oswald Garrison Villard, of New York; David Starr Jordan, President of Leland Stanford University; the Rt. Rev. Charles D. Williams, Bishop of Michigan; the Hon. John A. Martin, of Pueblo, Colorado; Dr. Francis H. Rowley, of Boston; and Mrs. Fanny Garrison Villard, of Dobbs Ferry, New York.

#### MEETINGS.

The President delivered an address at the adjourned annual meeting of the League, November 30, 1909, under the title of

"A Year's Progress," which was afterwards published in pamphlet form.

March 10, 1910, a luncheon was given to the Hon. Manuel L. Quezon at the University Club by the Executive Committee and other members of the League.

Professor Frederick Starr, of the University of Chicago, delivered an address at the Twentieth Century Club on October 1909.

#### DOCUMENTS.

"Speech of the Hon. Pablo Ocampo de Leon delivered at a Popular Banquet given in his honor in Manila, P. I., October 2, 1909.

"The Reverse of the Medal." *El Renacimiento*, Manila, November 16, 1909.

"The Gold of King Midas." *El Renacimiento*, Manila, November 26, 1909.

"Report of the Eleventh Annual Meeting of the Anti-Imperialist League, November 27, 1909, and its Adjournment, November 30, 1909." (2,000 copies).

"A Year's Progress." Annual address by Moorfield Storey, President of the Anti-Imperialist League, at the Eleventh Annual Meeting, November 30, 1909. (2,000 copies.)

Letter from the Philippine Chamber of Commerce. (2,500 copies.)

"Buried Hopes." *El Renacimiento*, Manila, December 9, 1909.

"Hurrah for Idleness!" *El Renacimiento*, Manila, December 11, 1909.

"The Limitation of the Amount of Land Which may be Acquired by Individuals and Corporations in the Philippine Islands." Opinion by the Hon. George W. Wickersham, Attorney-General, December 18, 1909. (2,000 copies.)

"Farewell." *El Renacimiento*, Manila, January 15, 1910.

"New Invasion of the Philippines." *La Vanguardia*, Manila, February 25, 1910.

"A Petition of Sundry Citizens of the United States for Philippine Independence," presented by Hon. William Murray Crane, of Massachusetts in the United States Senate, March 16, 1910. (2,000 copies.)

"Limitation upon Individual Holdings of Philippine Lands." Remarks of Hon. Samuel W. McCall, of Massachusetts, in the House of Representatives, March 22, 1910. (2,000 copies.)



"Exploiting the Philippines." Speech of Hon. John A. Martin, of Colorado in the House of Representatives, Friday, March 25, 1910. (5,000 copies.)

"Exploiting the Philippines." Speech of Hon. John A. Martin, of Colorado in the House of Representatives, Tuesday, March 29, 1910. (1,000 copies.)

"Philippine Opinion." *La Vanguardia*, Manila, March 31, 1910.

Editorial, from *La Vanguardia*, Manila, April 6, 1910.

"Why Faith Dies." *La Vanguardia*, Manila, April 6, 1910.

"As Others See Us!" *La Vanguardia*, Manila, April 6, 1910.

"Naval Appropriation Bill." Speech of Hon. James L. Slayden of Texas, in the House of Representatives, Friday, April 8, 1910. (2,000 copies.)

"The Philippines." *La Vanguardia*, Manila, April 15, 1910.

"Filipino Mass Meeting." *La Vanguardia*, Manila, May 12, 1910.

"Philippine Affairs." Speech of Hon. Manuel L. Quezon of the Philippines, in the House of Representatives, Saturday, May 14, 1910. (2,000 copies.)

Editorial from *La Vanguardia*, Manila, May 13, 1910.

"Sugar Trust Invasion of the Philippines." Speech of Hon. J. Harry Covington, of Maryland, in the House of Representatives, Saturday, May 21, 1910. (2,000 copies.)

"Perverted Philippine Policy," by Erving Winslow, Secretary of the Anti-Imperialist League, published in the *National Monthly*, May, 1910. (100 copies.)

"The Demand of the Filipinos: Independence." Reprint from *Unity* of June 30, 1910, with letter from Professor Frederick Starr.

"Letter to Dr. Lyman Abbott & Co.," from Erving Winslow. *Lewiston Sun*, June 30, 1910.

"The Basis of Independence." *El Ideal*, Manila, July 5, 1910.

"Agriculture and Independence." *El Ideal*, Manila, July 5, 1910.

"William James as Patriot." Letter from Edwin D. Mead published in the *Boston Herald* of September 21, 1910. (400 copies.)

And numerous other extracts from Philippine journals, manifolded and sent to American newspapers, in which they were reproduced, thus placing them before the eyes of many hundreds of thousands of readers.

During the year the League has lost the following Vice-Presidents:

Professor William Graham Sumner, of Yale University, was the author of "The Conquest of the United States by Spain," a tremendously telling argument against the imperial policy of the United States which was one of the earliest as it has been one of the most useful documents in our library. Professor Sumner remained to the end a most faithful champion of our cause, and his loss to the League is very great;

Mr. Samuel Langhorne Clemens, author of "To the Person Sitting in Darkness," employed in the cause of Anti-Imperialism and in behalf of the Filipino those wonderful weapons of satire which were so absolutely at his command, and the members of the League were able to appreciate what is not yet justly understood: that, more than a brilliant humorist, he was a passionate and zealous reformer;

The Rev. William H. Scott, of Woburn, was of immense service in holding his race loyal to the cause of its brown brothers over the sea, and in opening its eyes to the wrong-doing of the party which was its traditional friend in former years. He was a singularly sweet and lovable person and his place has not been filled;

The Rt. Rev. W. N. McVickar, Bishop of Rhode Island, towering in moral force as in stature above his fellow-men, regarded Anti-Imperialism as chief among the many moral causes in which he was so profoundly interested and which he did so much to promote;

Professor William James, of Harvard University, the 'sad echo of whose name not only reaches the continents of America and Europe but is heard with grief in Asia, where the Filipinos knew him as their wise and faithful friend, will be missed because of the important influence he exerted in promoting their liberation and the independence of their country;

Mr. George Laban Paddock, of Chicago, took part in the first mass meeting called in the city of his residence to protest against the crime of the United States in the Philippines, and he remained a great force for right and justice in the rapid movement of the life of a busy city,—which tends to forgetfulness and oblivion;

The Hon. Alfred A. Putnam, of Uxbridge, orator, essayist, poet, lawyer, and judge, was well-known to us all and affec-

tionately known to many. He was a frequent attendant at our meetings, and while possessed of the most cheerful temperament and sunny disposition, his whole soul kindled in burning words against every phase of the criminal aggression and forcible retention at which we protest.

ERVING WINSLOW, Secretary.

# REPORT OF THE TREASURER.

## THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST LEAGUE In Account With

DAVID G. HASKINS, Jr., *Treasurer.*

*Dr.*

To amounts expended from November 27, 1909,  
to November 26, 1910, viz.:

For Postage, Express, Messengers . . . .	\$1048.56
“ Stationery, Telephone, Telegraph . . . .	259.55
“ Typewriting, Typewriting Machine, etc. . . .	578.15
“ Printing and Subscription to Newspapers . . . .	195.35
“ Office Rent . . . . .	229.13
“ Meetings . . . . .	27.50
“ Translating . . . . .	12.30
“ Sundries . . . . .	5.35
“ Balance on hand, Nov. 26, 1910 . . . .	100.06
	<u>\$2,455.95</u>

*Cr.*

By Balance on hand, November 27, 1909 . . . .	\$196.98
“ Contributions, Pledges . . . . .	
“ Response to Appeal . . . . .	2256.00
“ Annual Dues . . . . .	
“ Interest in New England Trust Co. . . . .	2.97

\$2,455.95

E. and O. E.,

DAVID G. HASKINS, Jr., *Treasurer.*

November 28, 1910

I hereby certify that I have audited the accounts of David G. Haskins, Jr., as Treasurer of the Anti-Imperialist League for the year beginning Nov. 27, 1909, and ending Nov. 26, 1910, and have found them correctly cast and properly vouched, and find that he has a cash balance on hand of \$100.06.

FRANCIS A. OSBORN.



In presenting his annual array of figures, the treasurer desires again to thank most heartily the devoted, untiring men and women who for years, with very little to encourage them, have sustained the work of the League, with an earnestness, a liberality and a self-sacrifice beyond all praise; and whose splendid faith in the ultimate triumph of righteousness and of the American doctrine of human rights and liberty, has remained unshaken through these many years of hope deferred. And today the treasurer can add to his thanks his hearty congratulations. For the first time, since the ratification of the ill-omened Spanish treaty, our optimistic faith is supported by substantial political facts.

Most of us perhaps hardly realize yet the immense significance for our cause of the sweeping Democratic victories in the recent elections. Whatever may be our individual political faith, we must consider that the Democrats, as a party, have from the beginning opposed the taking and holding of the Philippines. A majority of their senators voted against the iniquitous treaty which gave us the islands. In all their subsequent national conventions, they have taken strong and unequivocal ground in favor of an immediate promise of independence for the islands. In 1900, they even proclaimed the question to be the paramount issue of the campaign. If they come into power they can hardly discard such a cardinal and long-maintained article of their faith.

The Republicans, on the other hand, as a party, though with many honorable individual exceptions, have favored and supported the Imperialist policy. A Republican president took the islands; a Republican senate, with only two dissenting Republican votes, ratified the treaty of cession; the present Republican president,—able, amiable and estimable gentleman as he is,—is more firmly committed to the policy of indefinite retention of the islands than any public man in the country. The Republican national conventions have never said one definite word as to the final fate of the islands; and have certainly never given any clear hope of absolute independence even in the remote future. Tired as I believe many of their leaders are of their un-American experiment, and glad as they would certainly be to be relieved of the burden, party pride and consistency will necessarily prevent their making any move themselves in favor of Philippine independence. The cause has absolutely nothing to hope for from the Republican party.

And now comes the great political tidal wave of this present

month, and, for the first time since the Spanish war, the Democrats have gained partial control of the government. They have the House of Representatives by a large majority. Their strength in the Senate, it is alleged, is enough to control that body with the aid of insurgent Republicans. And, if we may credit the political prophecy of Secretary Knox in his speech in Ohio, before the elections,—a prophecy which possibly now he would like to qualify,—that “as the twig was bent in 1910, so would the tree be inclined in 1912,” we may fairly hope for a Democratic President, in two years more.

In the meantime, the course of imperialism has been checked. The House of Representatives can block any measures of further exploitation, or any legislation that would tend to make future independence more difficult. They can institute exhaustive and critical investigations of the management of the islands. They can pass themselves, and possibly can induce the Senate to join them in passing, the pledge of independence, demanded by the Filipinos, and long promised by the Democrats. And thus they can prepare the way for the fulfilment of that pledge, which can and, I believe, will be undertaken when the whole government passes into Democratic hands.

Such is the brilliant prospect before us. We gaze from afar on the splendid temple of human liberty,—in which is enshrined the immortal Declaration of Independence—looming on the horizon. But we have yet a journey before us, ere we can pass through its portals,—a journey for which the vision is an inspiration.

Let us remember that the Philippine question had no actual perceptible influence in deciding the elections. Congressmen are very human. There are questions much nearer home in which millions of people are interested, which will absorb much of their attention. They will not be disloyal to their anti-imperialist principles, but party platforms, we must remember, have many planks. We can hardly blame them if they wait, as to the Philippines, for pressure from those most interested. We, the members of this League, have been for years the special advocates of Filipino independence, and it is for us to improve the opportunity, and to bring and keep the issue prominently before Congress and the country. Already there is talk of a gathering of representative Democrats, to plan the policy of the party. We should if possible be represented there. We should, in every way, by correspondence, through the press, by conferences, perhaps by public meetings, rouse the country

again on this old but ever new question. And to do this (and here I come to the point that appeals to a treasurer's mind) we must have money,—money,—money;—more if possible than ever before. We can not hope to carry a great cause to victory by an expenditure of \$2,400 a year. The cause needs to be properly financed, and we appeal for help to all who believe in the old American doctrines taught in the Declaration of Independence.

I am well aware that these appeals are not needed by the patriotic, devoted friends of the cause who are gathered here. They have long done enough, many of them too much. But, if, by chance, my words should fall on the ears of any who believe in the cause but who have never yet given it financial help, or who have wearied in well-doing, from a feeling that the cause is hopeless, I invite them earnestly to look with us on the inspiring vision,—visible now to others besides the prophets,—and they will surely wish to have their share in the glory of the coming triumph.

We have had a glimpse of our Promised Land; shall we not go forward boldly and well-equipped, to possess it?

DAVID G. HASKINS, JR.,  
Treasurer.

The chair appointed Messrs. Samuel R. Fuller, Howard A. Carson and James H. Bowditch, a committee to distribute, collect and count ballots for officers.

The resolution which follows was introduced by the Executive Committee and unanimously adopted with great applause.

The Anti-Imperialist League, assembled for its annual meeting, desires to protest against the choice of the Hon. Henry Cabot Lodge as a Senator from Massachusetts.

Mr. Lodge opposed the most enlightened and patriotic statesmen, even of his own party, and notably his distinguished colleague, the Hon. George Frisbie Hoar, by urging the acquisition of the Philippine Islands, and he has persistently refused assent to the frequent and urgent appeal of the inhabitants for a promise of independence. During the eighteen years of his service in the Senate he has said and done nothing in favor of human rights, but has consistently supported an aggressive policy in dealing with foreign nations and the extravagant expenditure for ships, forts and like purposes which such a policy

entails. As friends of human liberty and peace among men we oppose his re-election.

## ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT.

Ladies and Gentlemen of the Anti-Imperialist League:

“What of the night?” What are its signs of promise? These are the questions which we naturally ask after twelve years of struggle in behalf of those great principles, which the founders of the Republic one hundred and thirty-four years ago declared to be self-evident truths. Believing that our fathers were right we cannot doubt that these principles must in time prevail. The words of Emerson, “This old Bible if you pitch it out of the window with a fork comes bouncing back again,” may well be applied to the Declaration of Independence with unquestioning faith. To doubt were to doubt that this is a moral universe.

None the less it is pleasant to see one's faith justified, and the year which has passed has furnished abundant evidence that our cause is gaining. Imperialism—the theory that one man, or one group of men, or one nation has the right to deal with the lives and property of other men or nations without their consent, is beaten back on every hand. Unjust privilege, whether political, religious or commercial, everywhere fights a losing battle. Monarchy in Portugal after enduring for centuries has fallen with hardly a struggle, and a radical republic has taken its place whose first step is to banish the ecclesiastical orders. In Spain the power of the people is felt every year more clearly, the political power of the Church is waning, and no one can tell how soon the example of Portugal will be followed. China is waking up and with the adoption of parliamentary government comes the feeling of the people that China is a nation and not an aggregation of provinces. As a result the great country which a few years ago seemed likely to be divided among the nations of Europe no longer invites their attacks. England finds the task of ruling India more and more difficult, while at her own door she is reaping the fruits of her misgovernment in Ireland. Her legislation in the seventeenth century destroyed the prosperity of Ireland in the interest of English landlords and English manufacturers, and created the poor and ungovernable country which has vexed her rulers ever since. As a result, after years of bitter struggle she finds that she must let Ireland either govern itself, or govern her. Today the Irish can make or unmake the English ministry, and are likely to retain this power till Home Rule is granted.



Not only this, but the privileged classes of England at home find their privileges in peril, and the only question is how much they can save. Taxation will break up their great estates, and their veto on legislation cannot long be maintained. The historian must note that the denial of self-government to Ireland more than any other single thing insures their defeat. Thus "the whirligig of time brings round its revenges" and the slow-grinding mills of the gods bring the works of injustice to nought.

Our own experience teaches the same lesson. Four millions of men and women without voice or vote, regarded as mere chattels with no human rights, dominated the politics of this country for forty years, and plunged us at last into civil war with its legacy of ruined lives, enormous taxes, bitter hostility between fellow-citizens, political demoralization and a race problem which can never be settled until the absolute equality of the colored race as citizens and as men is fully recognized. Neither power nor wealth can perpetuate injustice.

On the other hand it is interesting to look at France. Fifty years ago men used to speak of the French as incapable of self-government. Their republics seemed ephemeral, and always ready to fall at the touch of a Napoleon. Now after forty years the French Republic has shown itself as strong as any government in Europe. It has dealt successfully with the grave complications caused by the case of Dreyfus, it has encountered and overcome the improper influence of the Catholic Church, and lately it has shown rare strength and courage in dealing with organized labor. A government of the people supported by the people now stands as a model in Europe.

If we look at home we have equal cause to rejoice. The party of imperialism and unjust privilege, of Philippine conquest, of high tariff with its children the trusts, of foreign aggression and the "big stick", has been thoroughly beaten, and its leaders have been driven from public life or shorn of their power. The Democratic party controls the House of Representatives, and may soon control the Senate. We confidently expect from them such action as they promised in their last national platform. Here is its language:

"We condemn the experiment of imperialism as an inexcusable blunder which has involved us in an enormous expense, brought us weakness instead of strength, and laid our nation open to the charge of abandoning the fundamental doctrine of self-government. We favor an immediate declaration of the

nation's purpose to recognize the independence of the Philippine islands as soon as a stable government can be established, such independence to be guaranteed by us as we guaranteed the independence of Cuba, until the neutralization of the islands can be secured by treaty with other powers."

We could not frame a better statement than this of the principles and the policy which we advocate. We do not doubt that the American people in their hearts believe in these principles, and will rejoice to support this policy. The Democratic party will be true to its traditional faith and will be backed by the people only if it lives up to its professions.

In the Philippine Islands the demand for independence gains in strength with years. The Philippine Assembly insists upon it. The Filipino delegate urges it with convincing eloquence in the House of Representatives. Secretary Dickinson was met by an overwhelming mass of petitions in favor of it when he reached Manila a few months ago, and as an impartial English observer said recently in a letter to the *London Times*, "So far as there are any political parties in the Philippines, their creeds differ only in the degree of their professed animosity to American domination, and the urgency with which they demand independence."

Does it not seem inconceivably strange that the government of the United States, the first and greatest of modern republics, should set itself against the whole tendency of the times, should turn its back upon all the principles which we have upheld during our whole national life, and attempt to deny the Filipinos that inalienable right of self-government which we have always proclaimed to be the birthright of man? Judging by all human experience, is it not clear that in such an attempt the United States is bound to fail?

We are teaching the Filipinos English. We enable them to read our history and the words of our great statesmen. As a result Mr. Quezon, in his address to the House of Representatives last May, is able to say:

"In the language of that great apostle of human freedom Daniel Webster—

'No matter how easy may be the yoke of a foreign power, no matter how lightly it sits upon the shoulders, if it is not imposed by the voice of his own nation, and of his own country, he will not, he can not, and he means not to be happy under its burden.'

"These words to us, Mr. Chairman, are freedom's text and ral-

lying cry. We feel their truth deep in our souls for it is the vital spot of our national hope."

What is the answer to such a cry? We must obliterate on the pages of American history all that tells of the Revolution, all that would remind us of the battle against slavery, all our expressions of sympathy with the Greeks, the Hungarians and other peoples who have fought for freedom, all the burning words of Adams and Jefferson and Lincoln and Sumner, the Declaration of Independence, the Gettysburg speech, in a word all that makes our history worth knowing. We must strike from their pedestals in our national Hall of Fame all the men who have led the great battle for human rights, or say that their words were false. How else can we answer the demands of the Filipinos backed by our example and our teaching? Can we pay such a price for the Philippines? What shall it profit a man, or a nation, if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul? The soul of the United States is our faith that "all men are created equal" and are endowed with the inalienable right of self-government. What will be our fate when we lose that?

Is it surprising that the Englishman to whom I have alluded is struck by the facts that we celebrate with great ceremonies the Fourth of July, and that our bands play every day "The Star Spangled Banner" and other American patriotic airs, which the children are taught to sing? What must this celebration and the words of these songs say to the Filipinos? "Oh long may it wave o'er the land of the free" must taste strangely in a Filipino mouth. Let my Englishman tell us what he saw and heard.

"Three weeks later, on July 25, Manila was again en fete in honor of Mr. John M. Dickinson, United States Secretary of War, who had arrived in the islands on the preceding day. As one part of the festivities a body of 5,000 Filipino school children sang American patriotic songs, massed in a huge open-air grand stand. Among the songs was "Hurrah for the Red, White, and Blue," which, by a curious process of appropriation, the American people has of late years come to cherish as one of its most popular and most distinctively American national airs. The 5,000 children were dressed some in red, some in white, and some in blue; and they were so seated that the whole grand stand made one great American flag. At the close of the proceedings the children stood up and gave three cheers for the Secretary of War, 5,000 childish trebles shouting in unison

“Heep! Heep! Hoorra!” in the queer clipped speech of the Oriental. It was very pretty; and afterwards I spoke to one of the leading Filipino public men and asked him what those children, down in their little hearts, really thought of the flag which they patterned so charmingly and waved with so much enthusiasm, and there was no hesitation in his reply:—

“They hate it—every one of them! The Americans will tell you that that is not so; but I tell you that every child is taught at home to hate the Stars and Stripes. The Americans know nothing of our nature; they never will know anything. We are Orientals, and we do not show our feelings; and, therefore, you will hear that the mass of the people is indifferent and has no real yearning for independence. It is not true. We wave the flag because, for the present, we must; and we hate it more and more.”

Is not this inevitable? We undertake to teach the Filipinos American ideals; to make them over on the American pattern, to turn Asiatics into New Englanders. We tell them “that all men are created equal” and that “governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed” and they learn the lesson readily. They had learned it before we landed. They knew our history and our national principles. Yet when they say, “Why are not we in our own land equal to you?” and “Why should our government not derive its powers from our consent?” we swallow the very ideals that we undertake to teach and reply “we are a superior people and therefore must govern you without your consent.” Is not this fatuous? Well may the Filipino answer in the words of Emerson:

“United States! the ages plead—  
Present and Past in under-song—  
Go put your creed into your deed,  
Nor speak with double tongue.

For sea and land don’t understand,  
Nor skies without a frown  
See rights for which the one hand fights  
By the other cloven down.”

President Taft said some years ago:

“The people of the United States have under their guidance and control in the Philippines an archipelago of 3,000 islands, the population of which is about 7,600,000 souls. Of these 7,000,000 are Christians and 600,000 are Moros or other pagan



tribes," (a population let me observe in passing three times as large as Denmark's, larger by nearly two million than that of Switzerland and Denmark combined, larger than that of Sweden and Norway combined, and larger than that of Belgium or Holland when these figures were taken). Mr. Taft proceeded, "We may very much better rely on the good sense and virtue of the American people rightfully to solve the problem of dealing with the islands."

The mere existence of good sense and virtue do not insure the wise solution of any problem unless they are applied to the question, and they cannot be applied unless their possessors understand the facts and are interested in dealing with them. Knowledge of the situation and interest in it are essential. What do the American people know of what is done in the Philippine Islands? We have the official reports which are made periodically, and which state the official view of the situation, but otherwise there is an almost impenetrable veil between the Filipinos and the American people. We learn now that the two houses of the Philippine Assembly are in a deadlock because they cannot agree upon the choice of the two resident commissioners which the Philippine Assembly is authorized to elect and send to the United States. These commissioners have no power and no vote. They are intended merely to speak for the Filipinos, and for this purpose have seats in the House of Representatives. They are the only channel through which the Filipino people can reach the Congress and people of the United States. The representatives of the Filipinos should surely have the right to select these, but as a matter of fact the Upper House of the Filipino legislature which consists of the Philippine Commission, including the Governor-General, controls their choice. The men selected by the United States to govern can dictate who shall speak for the people whom they govern. What a mockery of representation! The Filipinos cannot *say* what their rulers disapprove. When we remember that the American Commissioners have the ear of the Government at all times,—what can they justly fear? Such a power destroys the chance of just criticism by the governed, and if ever a less high minded and upright commission takes the place of the present one the consequences may well be disastrous. Give the Filipinos at least an unrestricted right to speak. Strike but hear.

Of that daily information as to what is done, by which public opinion is formed and made effective we get nothing. If the

people demand it the newspapers would supply it. Unhappily the people are tired of the islands, and do not wish to be reminded of them. We are in a false position, and we know it, so we try not to think of our duties and the rights of this unhappy people.

Still from behind the veil some facts occasionally make their way, and thanks to the courage and persistence of Mr. Martin, of Colorado, certain unpleasant facts connected with the administration and sale of the so-called friar lands have been brought to light, and are soon to be investigated. I am glad to say that the Governor-General of the Philippine Islands is as conscientious and honest a man as the country contains, and is giving his life to the task which his country has laid upon him with self-sacrificing devotion. No one can say in his favor what I will not gladly admit. None the less must we criticize his policy when in our judgment it is wrong.

For many years, and especially during the time when the great West was inhabited only by a few scattered Indians, the American people believed in a policy which is now outgrown. Wishing to attract population, to build railroads, to discover and develop natural resources, we made large gifts of public land to men who would embark their capital in opening up and improving the country. Our national treasures were so abundant that they seemed inexhaustible, a fund which should be spent freely to increase the population and promote the prosperity of the country. The adventurous capitalists made large fortunes and others were attracted by their success. We did not at once recognize when the necessity ceased for offering large rewards to those who would undertake doubtful enterprises. The policy of spending our capital was adhered to, and only when many had grown rich out of the public resources without risk, did we wake to the fact that our expenditure had been reckless and must stop. We have now reached the era of conservation, conservation of lands, of water, of minerals, of franchises, of all that belongs to the public. But there are many who have not accepted the new doctrine, who feel that the way to make a country prosperous is to offer capital large rewards, and thereby to promote agriculture and manufactures with an enlarged field for labor, and it would seem that this outworn creed had its disciples among the rulers of the Philippine Islands. They are perhaps not to be blamed for believing what we all believed twenty years ago, and yet they are clearly wrong, and their error is very dangerous.

If the purpose of government is to produce sugar, hemp and tobacco their policy may be right. If it is to produce men, a prosperous and contented people, it is absolutely wrong.

When the Philippine Islands were taken they presented no such problem as the Great West presented in 1860. Here were no great areas of fertile land which men were anxious to occupy and there make their homes. The population of the islands was large and the fertile land largely occupied. No large number of Filipinos were seeking new homes in the islands. The danger was that non-resident capitalists would buy up the land and get possession of the natural resources, so that we should have a system of absentee landlords controlling the fields and the means by which the natives of the islands could live. To guard against this unfortunate result we carefully limited the amount of public land that any individual or corporation could hold, and by section 75 of the Organic Act forbade any corporation engaged in agriculture from owning or controlling more than 1,024 hectares of land, and made it unlawful for any member of such a corporation or the corporation itself from being "in any wise interested in any other corporation engaged in agriculture or in mining." In a word we adopted the policy of "conservation" at the outset, and as the debates in Congress show, for the very purpose of preventing the exploitation of the islands by American or foreign capitalists.

One of the most serious problems which confronted us arose from the ownership of very large and valuable tracts of agricultural lands by certain religious orders and the discontent of the natives, who resided on and cultivated these lands without any hope of owning their holdings. To meet this difficulty the Philippine government was authorized to acquire and convey lands "subject to the limitations and conditions prescribed in this act" and to exercise this power in respect of any lands "which on the 13th of August 1898 were owned or held by associations, corporations, communities, religious orders or private individuals in such large tracts or parcels and in such manner as in the opinion of the Commission injuriously to affect the peace and welfare of the people of the Philippine Islands." This language makes it clear that Congress thought the ownership of large tracts by *individuals* as dangerous as the ownership by associations or religious orders. To pay for this land the Philippine government was authorized to issue its bonds and the price thus became a charge upon the Philippine people, to be paid principal and interest out of the taxes which

they pay. Surely if any land can be said to be the property of the Filipino people and be held for their benefit, it is land for which they pay with the sweat of their brows.

We are left in no doubt as to the purpose of making this purchase.

The first report of the Taft Commission says:

"It would avoid some very troublesome agrarian disturbances between the friars and their quondam tenants if the insular government could buy these large haciendas of the friars and sell them out in small holdings to the present tenants, who, forgiven for the rent due during the two years of war, would recognize the title of the government without demur and gladly accept an opportunity, by payment of the price in small installments, to become absolute owners of that which they and their ancestors have so long cultivated."

A year later the Commission says—

"As it has already stated in its former report, the commission believes that the transfer of the property and its sale in small holdings to the present tenants on long payment might be effected without loss and that this solution would be very satisfactory to all the people."

When the organic act was before the Committee, Secretary Root appeared as a witness and said:—

"The political situation is such that, at what we may find to be a fair price, it is undoubtedly wise for us to buy, and then to turn around and vest the titles to these lands in the tenants at a reasonable price (giving them good long time, of course, to pay, so that instead of paying rent they will be making partial payments on the purchase), and then use that money to retire the obligations given to raise the original purchase price."

A few weeks later, Mr. Taft, then Governor of the Islands, was before the same Committee and said:—

"Mr. Maddox. If I understand you, from what I have heard you say I gather that you think it would be cheaper for the United States to undertake to buy these lands than to restore them to their owners?

Governor Taft. I do; what I mean is, if we buy the lands we put the title of the Government between the friars and the subsequent disposition of the lands, and that then the Government may, by liberal terms to the tenants, enable the tenants, by payments strung over a long number of years, to become the owners of the land. The payments can be arranged so that



*not much more than the rent would nevertheless pay for the land."*

and Senator Lodge in supporting the bill in debate said:—

"The second object of the bill is to help the development of the islands; and yet, as the committee felt, to help that development only by taking the utmost pains that there should be no opportunity given for undue or selfish exploitation. The opponents of this legislation have dwelt almost continuously—when they have spoken on this bill—on the point that it is intended to open the islands to exploiters, to syndicates, and to carpet-baggers . . . . But these exploiters, these syndicates, these carpetbaggers, who march back and forth through the speeches of Democratic Senators like the scene-shifter's army, have as little reality as the air-drawn dagger of Macbeth."

\* \* \* \* \*

"I have had many gentlemen come to me who desire to invest money in the Philippine Islands who say that the bill is so drawn that it is impossible for capital to go in there to any large amount."

The bill was carefully amended by inserting in various sections the words "subject to the limitations and conditions contained in this act," and each of the sections 63, 64 and 65 which give the government of the Islands the right to acquire and sell the friar lands contains these words. Section 15 of that Act expressly empowered the Government of the Philippine Islands to provide for "the granting or sale and conveyance to actual occupants and settlers and other citizens of said islands of such parts or portions of the public domain other than timber and mineral lands of the said islands as it may deem wise, not exceeding sixteen hectares to any one person, and the sale and conveyance of not more than 1,024 hectares to any corporation or association, and it was further provided that the grant or sale of such lands should be contingent on actual occupancy improvement and cultivation of the premises sold for a period of not less than five years during which time the purchaser or grantee cannot alienate or encumber the land or title thereto.

Section 65 which provides for the sale of the friar lands expressly says that all such lands "shall constitute a part and portion of the public property of the government of the Philippine Islands" and if there is any important distinction between "public property" and "public domain" it does not occur to me. But whether there is or not, in either case sales cannot be made except under the limitations and conditions of the act. Among

these limitations were distinct limitations on the quantity of land which could be sold to an individual or a corporation. Whether we examine the act itself, or read the debates, or consider its purpose, the intention to prevent the sale of these lands in large parcels to foreign exploiters is clear.

Yet the Attorney-General of the United States last December gave an opinion that the limitations on the power to sell did not apply to the friar lands, and acting under this opinion sales of very large tracts have been made to persons closely allied with the Sugar Trust and other large producers of sugar not residents in the islands. It is certain that the Insular Bureau was not frank in answering resolutions of inquiry, and there is much in the circumstances surrounding the purchases and in the agents employed, which gives the transactions a disagreeable look, but as the whole matter is to be investigated, and we hope honestly and thoroughly, it is right to withhold our judgment till we have heard all the facts.

It is apparent however that the policy of letting the natives acquire these lands has been frustrated and that foreign capitalists have been given much more favorable terms than have been granted to the Filipino tenants, unless there is some answer to the statements which Mr. Martin made on the floor of the House of Representatives and which he compiled from statements furnished by the officers of the Government.

He said:—

“As has been seen, on June 30, 1908, after having occupied the islands for ten years, our officials in the Philippines had issued sale certificates on friar lands to but 446 out of the more than 60,000 tenants of those lands, and these 446 sale certificates cover but 1,600 of the 400,000 acres purchased from the friars.”

“The reason why so few sales have been made seems to be disclosed in two paragraphs of the 1908 report of the director of lands. In this report he says (vol. 2, p. 248):

‘Applications to purchase small parcels continue to be received. These applications range from 5 hectares to as small as 16 centares. (One hectare equals 2.47 acres; 1 centare equals 1.2 square yards, or one three-thousand-two-hundred-and-fourth part of an acre; 16 centares equal 19 square yards, or one two-hundredth of 1 acre). As was stated in last year’s report, these small parcels can not be sold at a reasonable value per hectare without incurring loss to the government.

It is manifestly a poor business proposition to make a sale simply for the sake of making it, where the government stands to lose anywhere from forty pesos to eighty pesos. In last year's report it was shown that the survey of homesteads and the necessary office work entailed would cost the government about fifty pesos for each homestead, a clear loss of thirty pesos, after deducting the entry fee of twenty pesos received. It was shown that free patents would cost the government about thirty pesos each, with no receipts. It is manifestly necessary, therefore, that at least part of this should be recovered on sales and leases, and that these should be made at a profit.

'The practice has been inaugurated in cases where application to purchase ranged around one, two or three hectares to inform the applicant that the land applied for has been appraised at a certain figure, and that figure is placed at an amount that is calculated will at least cover the expenses in connection with the sale if made. The sale of a small parcel, including advertising charges, office work, and survey, will not fall below eighty pesos. In an application to purchase one hectare the appraisement is fixed at 100 pesos, and in an application for a larger or smaller area the appraisement is fixed at a price per hectare proportionate to the above amount. The practice is probably an arbitrary one, but it seems the only way out of the difficulty. An applicant is not always awed at a large price, however.'

"It is extremely doubtful if in the disposition of our public domain the gross receipts have begun to cover the field and administrative expenses connected therewith. At all events, those expenses have not been the determining factor. The theory has been that the public domain belonged to the people, and the policy has been to give these lands to the people, regardless of the field or administration cost.

"The policy adopted by the American Government in the Philippines is contrary to the purpose and intent of Congress, and it seems pitiable indeed that when a native seeks to purchase even one hectare—two and one half acres—cut of the 60,000,000 acres of public lands, which did not cost the Philippine government a penny, he is informed that the land he wants

has been appraised at 100 pesos—\$50—and that he must pay that amount if he acquires it. The enormity of such a practice only is appreciated when we consider the extreme poverty of the natives, the betterment of whose condition furnished the sole reason or excuse for purchasing these lands.

“Under Spanish rule the customary wage of the natives for twelve to fourteen hours a day was fifty cents per week. General Hughes testified that if they got this pittance they were satisfied, but that the trouble arose from the fact that frequently they did not get even that amount. The wages on sugar plantations are said to have increased to just under sixteen cents per day, or \$4.16 per month, or less than \$50 a year. No wonder there have been made but 219 sales when, to acquire a two and one-half acre tract, the government requires from the native every penny he can earn, if he works every day for a whole year. The fact that for wild land the government charges the native \$20 per acre, while for the same class of land it charges the Havemeyer syndicate \$6.60 per acre, would seem to indicate pretty clearly the land policy of that government.

“It seems that during ten years of American occupation of the Philippines 665 of the 8,000,000 natives succeeded in purchasing 15,331 acres of government land on ten years’ time, while in one day the Havemeyer syndicate acquires 55,000 acres on nineteen years’ time.”

Mr. Martin quotes the official report as to the disposition of the Tala estate and thus describes it.

“First, the Tala estate consists of 6,696 hectares, or 16,539 acres. The director of lands reports that 20 per cent of it, or 3,307 acres, is occupied by natives, none of whom have been able to secure a sale certificate. The director reports that 466 leases on lands in this estate have been executed. The leases cover 735 hectares, or 1,815 acres, the average size of the parcels leased being 3.9 acres. The amount of annual receipts contracted for from these leases is 4,235 pesos, or \$2,117.50 for the 1,815 acres, or \$1.17 per acre. Under the arrangement described by the director of lands the man who leases the unoccupied portion of the estate with the privilege of purchase takes up certain portions of it at given periods, and as he takes these portions over he agrees to pay an annual rental of 15 cents per hectare, or six cents per acre, on such portions as he does not crop, and 75 cents per hectare, or 30 cents per acre, on such portions as he takes a crop from. The Philippine government paid \$112,054 for this estate, or \$6.77 per acre and four per cent



interest on this amount for four and one-half years from the date of purchase to June 30, 1908, would bring the cost to \$8 per acre on that date. It thus would appear that the new tenant, who options the whole estate, pays a less amount per acre on the land he crops, than the interest the Philippine government pays on its bonds amounts to on the cost of that particular land to date, while the Philippine government continues to pay a like amount of interest per acre on the balance of the estate on which he holds an option. In other words, four per cent interest on the cost of the land to date amounts to 32 cents per acre. The new tenant, the wealthy man who eventually is to buy the estate, pays two cents per acre less than the government's carrying charges, while the native tenant pays \$1.17 per acre, or nearly four times the amount of the carrying charges. Certainly one is paying too much or the other is not paying enough, and in either event the exercise of this sort of favoritism to the exploiter and driving hard bargains with the native tenants whereby but little over one-half of them on this particular estate have been induced to take out leases, presumably on account of the high rental charged them, is not in sympathy with the intent of Congress when it passed the act authorizing the purchase of these lands for the sole purpose of dividing them up and selling them to tenants in small parcels at a low price and on long time."

One more quotation to complete the picture:

"Considerable portions of the land on the estates located in the Provinces of Laguna, Cavite, and Cebu have been leased in small parcels to native tenants, and it might be presumed that such areas as have been so leased will continue in the hands of native tenants of the Philippine government. But the director of lands stated that whenever a native tenant gives up the government lease the big tenant has the option to take over the lease at the same rental the small tenant had been paying. On the Tala estate, which the director cites, the little tenant is paying \$1.17 an acre, while the big tenant is to pay but 30 cents per acre. It might appear that the big fellow would not care to take over the little fellow's lease at \$1.17 an acre, or nearly four times the rental per acre the big fellow has to pay. It should be understood, however, that while the Philippine government refuses to sell the little tenant the land he lives upon, as soon as the big fellow succeeds to the lease of the little fellow the big fellow acquires the right of purchase on a basis

which, at 4 per cent on his money, will represent a cost of but 32 cents an acre per annum.

"The process can be made both simple and expeditious. The big fellow owning all the surrounding land can make life a burden to the little fellow, can refuse to hire him, or refuse to pay a fair price for his cane or rice. When the little fellow defaults on his rent, the government can bring suit and dispossess him. The big fellow then can take over the lease at \$1.17 per acre, and immediately he purchases the land of the government and reduces his annual interest charge to 32 cents per acre. After a few years the big fellow will be in complete and undisputed possession of every acre on the estate, and then he can make his own terms to native tenants.

"Apparently to facilitate the matter of dispossessing these ignorant, defenseless, penniless wards of the Nation within eight days, whenever circumstances or the interests of a big tenant might require, the Philippine government passed an amendatory act on May 20, 1909, the first paragraph of which reads as follows:

"'Provided, that the failure on the part of the occupants to state their desire to lease or purchase said lands shall not be understood to mean that they do not desire to acquire them. In case of such failure it shall be the duty of the director of lands, or his agents, to enjoin such occupants to state their desire in writing within the period of eight days from the date of such injunction, and their failure to do so shall be understood to mean that such occupants do not desire either to lease or to purchase said lands.'"

Here we have the clear purpose of Congress, and a policy that was wise and benevolent defeated by the officials charged with the duty of carrying it out, and it might well have been accomplished without the knowledge of the American people. It only shows what is possible and where the danger lies.

Doubtless the officers of the Government thought they were doing wisely, and perhaps like our last President they think poorly of lawyers and of laws which stand between them and what seems to them right, but this tendency whether found at home or abroad must be firmly resisted, for it is the essence of imperialism. Suppose any one had risen in the Senate and proposed by law to buy the land which the religious orders were using for the cultivation of sugar, to pay for it with the money of the Filipino people, and then to sell it to the Sugar Trust or

its allies. No one would have had the effrontery to suggest this. Senators and Representatives vied with each other in their efforts to make such a thing impossible, and yet it has been done under the law framed to prevent it, or would have been done were it not that the purchasers of these estates in violation of law have acquired no title to the land so purchased, and spend their money in improving it at their peril.

Bearing upon our flag the motto of our President—"The Philippines for the Filipinos" and under his own administration, we are establishing in these unhappy islands the very trusts which we are seeking to break up in the United States. We have seen the fraudulent practices of the Sugar Trust disclosed and punished. Proceedings to dissolve it are just now to be instituted. Yet the same Attorney-General who seeks to destroy it here, where it is directly under the eye and control of the government, gives it life and fresh opportunity in the Philippine Islands, where its operations can be conducted with far less danger of discovery and punishment. What is dangerous to American citizens at home is far more dangerous to Filipinos on their remote islands, where they have no power, but little capital, and slight ability to resist so powerful an organization. If the policy of conservation is good at home, it is good in the Philippines. If the trusts are dangerous here, they are more dangerous there where they are absentee oppressors. In the name of common fairness why unload on the Filipinos the evils and burdens which we will not carry ourselves?

Let us hope that the investigation will be unsparingly thorough, and if the facts are creditable to the administration and the suspicions are proved unjust, no one will hail the result with more pleasure than I. But we must have the facts.

Whatever may be the merits of these particular transactions, we are opposed to the policy of introducing American or foreign capital into the Philippines, and of offering capitalists inducements to make investments there. Every such investment so clearly forges a new link in the chain which binds us to the islands, that we cannot acquit the administration of a purpose to delay or prevent independence in this way.

The other day in *The Nation* appeared this extract from a recent letter written by a government employee in the Philippine Islands, a college man who earned distinction in his undergraduate days as an able student and who has won promotion in the Philippine service by his executive ability.

"You have doubtless been reading a little of the visit of

Secretary of War Dickinson to the islands. His coming was known well in advance of his arrival, of course, and you can hardly imagine the wild anticipations with which the Filipino political leaders looked forward to the visit. They had it all planned out that the Secretary was to look around a little, scourge the American administration, and then reach into his pocket and gracefully extract and hand to them "Philippine Independence," as a little memento of his visit.

"Of course it is unnecessary to add that the Lincolns and Washingtons and Websters of the Philippines were sadly disillusionized. Their newspapers are bewailing the affair yet. What made their disappointment especially keen was that they had such a magnificent petition for *la independencia* all made out, with thousands of signers from every province, and then it fell so flat!

"You will infer that the political horizon is pretty dark, but it must not be imagined also that we Americans oppress our minds very much with the doleful situation. We go on about our work and think about it as little as possible. It really doesn't matter very much what the natives think or do about politics. American capital is being invested here to such an extent that independence is not in the slightest degree a present menace. And the more capital comes the farther off is independence."

This is the official view. "It really doesn't matter much what the natives do or think about politics." The 7,000,000 Christian inhabitants of the islands described at the Lake Mohawk conference by Hon. James F. Tracey, formerly a member of the Philippine Supreme Court, "as a bright, capable, ambitious and likeable people," able enough to administer their own provincial and municipal government, to furnish the Chief Justice and a majority of the judges in the Supreme Court, and four members of the Philippine Commission are really regarded as a negligible quantity in their own country, and in dealing with their own affairs. What amazing insolence! Such an attitude insures disaster.

The incurable vice of our position lies in the fact that we are in the Philippine Islands solely because we claim to be superior in wisdom, strength, virtue and civilization to the inhabitants. Upon this assumed superiority rests our whole claim to rule them against their will. Every American whether in official station or private life shares this feeling, and consciously or unconsciously shows it. Such an attitude is most offensive



and fatal to any real sympathy between governors and governed, without which no government can hope to succeed. We have no right in the islands, and the longer we stay the wider will be the gulf between the Filipinos and ourselves. The present relation costs both nations dearly, not merely in money but in character and self-respect. It cannot endure, and no financial ties can do more than make the separation more difficult and costly. All the money invested in slaves could not save slavery, and it will be equally powerless in the Philippines when the hour and the man come. He who seeks to build any enduring edifice, financial or political, on the permanence of our rule in these islands is doomed to lose. The stars in their courses fight against him. We are there without right. Every day that we remain is a fresh wrong, and adds to the cost, which we or our children will ultimately pay. We turn to the Democrats soon to be in power and say—You must deliver us “from the body of this death.”

DR. DAVID STARR JORDAN said in part:

In Mexico, the long era of lawlessness and disorder came to an end with the rise of Porfirio Diaz. Mexico was then financially strengthened by the seizure of the properties of the religious orders. It was politically strengthened by the alliance of the administration with the railroad companies, and other foreign agencies of exploitation. The railway lines radiated from the city of Mexico, enabling Diaz to send troops to any quarter. There were no cross-lines, not even wagon roads, and power was concentrated making riot and rebellion impossible. The alliance with money established credit. It gave Mexico the “psychological reserve” which is the pride of the Bank of England. It made Mexico orderly, with credit in the markets of the world at the cost of the freedom of her people. We have therefore today, orderly Mexico, and barbarous Mexico, safe Mexico and Mexico in chains, according to the view we take of the picture.

The men of enterprise have not yet established credit in the Philippines. There is no Diaz there with whom they can ally themselves—nothing but Uncle Sam. When the chains of credit are established, and the Philippines are ready to take care of themselves under the guidance of the Invisible Empire of Finance, there will be no longer any need of the aid of Uncle Sam. We may then expect that the Filipinos will receive their independence.

The REV. A. A. BERLE, D. D., spoke as follows:

Mr. President:

It is a great satisfaction to congratulate the League upon the great and substantial progress which has been made in the last twelve years. I really believe that it would not lie against me, as it did ten years ago, as a disqualification for an important pulpit, that I was a member of the Anti-Imperialist League! The main contentions with which this organization began its existence have been confirmed and the general public so far as it is interested and informed upon Philippine matters holds practically the views which this League has stood for in the last dozen years.

This found for me striking confirmation in the recent Lake Mohonk Conference where I heard views expressed and admissions made by officials and teachers in the Islands, for which years ago men were called opprobrious names. More than ever we are confronted with a problem, the answer to which is not to be found in anything but first the promise, and then the restoration of independence to the Filipino. Discontent is deeper and more widespread than ever. Dissatisfaction with the American occupation pervades all ranks of the Filipinos and the intelligent demand for independence is steadily increasing. The advance in intelligence by means of the schools has only served to educate the children as well as the parents in the injustice of our position and to stimulate unhappiness and uneasiness under American rule. There will be no meeting this steady advance of intelligent understanding of the wrongness of our attitude and the just demands of the Filipinos for independence, unless we can devise some way of stopping the Filipino mind from thinking. Independence alone will be able to pacify this ceaseless quest for justice.

For us in Massachusetts events have furnished an opportunity to strike directly at one of the leading figures and in some respect the most damaging opponent of our cause in the United States Senate. We can do no better thing than to organize public opinion in Massachusetts and make certain the prospective defeat of Senator Henry Cabot Lodge. More dangerous even than the Senators who are openly allied to the predatory interests which are exploiting the Philippine Islands, he is a menace to the cause of liberty and justice because he furnishes the veneer of polite learning and the prestige of the "scholar in politics" behind which these vultures prey

upon a helpless people. His defeat will serve to give notice to the other states of this Union that Massachusetts has again resumed her leadership in liberty interests and has again marched to the forefront of humanity's best desires. We must increase the output of informing literature which gives the public knowledge of affairs in the Islands, a great need for which almost every speaker at the Lake Mohonk Conference pleaded, and we must endeavor in the immediate task here, to make every legislator in the Massachusetts legislature feel that his vote in the matter of the election of the United States Senator, will be visited with prompt approval or disapproval. For the first time we have this concrete question placed within striking distance and we should fail in our duty to Massachusetts and to liberty if we did not perform our task.

The HON. ROGER SHERMAN HOAR, who had to leave early in the meeting, asked permission to report in print.

Fellow workers for liberty: Elevated to sudden prominence by the decision of my constituency, I feel it a great privilege to have the added honor thrust upon me of addressing this organization of true Americans. It is hard to say many words about our cause, for the hearts of all of us are so full that much that any speaker could say would be mere repetition. Nevertheless, in a few words I can tell you why I am an Anti-Imperialist.

No matter how much a person is interested in any cause, he can usually find, upon analyzing his sentiments, that there is one single determining fact that is really responsible for his position. This fact in my case is that now apparently unimportant document, the Declaration of Independence.

"We hold these truths to be self evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among those are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights governments are instituted among men deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed."

What do I know about Philippine conditions? I have never been there. Suppose some specialist in Philippine affairs, representing my inexperienced interference, should tell me that the Filipinos are incapable of self-government; I should reply that

all men are created equal, and that we should guarantee them equal rights, at least for the future, if not at present. Suppose my inquisitor were to mention the great improvements made in the islands by the use of, and for the benefit of, American capital; I should reply that the inalienable rights of the Filipinos were more important than the exploitation of the islands. Suppose that my inquisitor were further to call my attention to the splendid government that we have instituted in the Philippines; I should reply that truly great governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed.

Of course we hear much talk to the effect that the Declaration of Independence was a mere political platform. Mark Hanna said of political platforms that they were like train platforms, meant to get in by, but not to stand on. Perhaps if this country were to write a political declaration of independence at the present day, it would read somewhat as follows: "We have the power to enforce the following theories: that all men are created unequal; that we, the superior class, are endowed by our Creator with certain inalienable rights and duties; that among those are the subjugation, government, and exploitation of foreign territories. That to secure these special privileges, governments are instituted among men who do not want them, deriving their powers from the fact that we are strong enough to back them up."

I am enough of a reactionary to believe in the Declaration of Independence, as written. I am progressive enough to believe that personal rights are more important than the unjust extension of American capital.

A person doesn't have to travel to the Philippines to understand the Declaration of Independence or to be a follower of the Golden Rule.

The Committee which had been appointed to distribute, collect and count ballots, reported that the following officers for 1911 were unanimously elected:

President

Moorfield Storey.

Treasurer

David Greene Haskins, Jr.

Secretary

Erving Winslow.



## Executive Committee

Albert S. Parsons  
James H. Bowditch  
Gamaliel Bradford  
Frederick Brooks  
Edward H. Clement

Charles Fleischer  
Edwin Ginn  
Albion A. Perry  
John Ritchie  
Frank B. Sanborn

Fiske Warren

President, Treasurer and Secretary ex-officio.

## Vice-Presidents

### ALABAMA.

Prof. Edgar B. Kay, Tuscaloosa.  
Prof. H. A. Sayre, Tuscaloosa.

### ALASKA.

Martin Harrais, Esq., Chena.  
John Ronan, Esq., Fairbanks.

### ARIZONA.

Frank P. Trott, Esq., Phoenix.

### ARKANSAS.

Hon. U. M. Rose, Little Rock.

### CALIFORNIA.

Pres. David Starr Jordan, Leland  
Stanford Univ.  
Prof. Jacques Loeb, Berkeley.  
C. F. Lummis, Esq., Los Angeles.  
H. C. Newbold, Esq., Haywards.  
Hon. Warren Olney, Oakland.  
William H. Rogers, Esq., San Jose.

### COLORADO.

Hon. Moses Hallett, Denver.  
Hon. John A. Martin, Pueblo.  
Hon. T. M. Patterson, Denver.  
Hon. John F. Shafroth, Denver.  
Hon. C. S. Thomas, Denver.

### CONNECTICUT.

Rev. Prof. C. M. Mead, New Haven.  
Dean Henry Wade Rogers, New  
Haven.  
Rev. Jabez T. Sunderland, Hartford.  
Hon. Charles F. Thayer, Norwich.

### DELAWARE.

William Canby Ferris, Esq., Wilming-  
ton.  
Hon. Richard R. Kenney, Dover.

### DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

Dr. W. A. Croffut, Washington.  
Samuel Gompers, Esq., Washington.  
Gen. Nelson A. Miles, Washington.

### FLORIDA.

Hon. Thomas M. Shackelford, Talla-  
hassee.

### GEORGIA.

Hon. James H. Blount, Macon.  
Hon. W. H. Fleming, Augusta.  
Gen. James Gadsden Holmes, Macon.  
Hon. Peter W. Meldrim, Savannah.  
Hon. Hoke Smith, Atlanta.

### IDAHO.

Hon. Simon P. Donnelly, Lakeview.

### ILLINOIS.

Miss Jane Addams, Chicago.  
Francis F. Browne, Esq., Chicago.  
Prof. Starr Willard Cutting, Chicago.  
Frederick W. Gookin, Esq., Chicago.  
Prof. William Gardner Hale, Chicago.  
Prof. Ira W. Howerth, Chicago.  
Rev. Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Chicago.  
Dr. William Morton Payne, Chicago.  
Louis F. Post, Esq., Chicago.  
Mrs. Alice Thacher Post, Chicago.  
William M. Salter, Esq., Chicago.  
Mrs. Edwin Burritt Smith, Chicago.  
Prof. Frederick Starr, Chicago.  
Charles M. Sturges, Esq., Chicago.  
Prof. A. H. Tolman, Esq., Chicago.  
Sigmund Zeisler, Esq., Chicago.

### INDIANA.

D. S. Burson, Richmond.  
Hon. H. U. Johnson, Richmond.

### IOWA.

Hon. Horace Boies, Waterloo.  
Hon. William Larrabee, Clermont.  
Hon. Cato Sells, Vinton.  
Hon. Henry Vollmer, Davenport.

### KANSAS.

Hugh P. Farrelly, Esq., Chanute.

### KENTUCKY.

James G. Howard, Esq., Lock.

### LOUISIANA.

Prof. James Hardy Dillard, New  
Orleans.

### MAINE.

President George C. Chase, Lewiston.  
Dr. Seth C. Gordon, Portland.  
Hon. Luther F. McKinney, Bridgton.

### MARYLAND.

Hon. John V. LeMoyne, Baltimore.  
Hon. George L. Wellington, Cumber-  
land.

## MASSACHUSETTS.

Magnus W. Alexander, Esq., Lynn.  
Rev. A. A. Berle, Boston.  
Samuel Bowles, Jr., Esq., Springfield.  
Col. C. R. Codman, Brookline.  
Rev. J. H. Crooker, Boston.  
Rev. C. F. Dole, Boston.  
Thomas B. Fitzpatrick, Esq., Boston.  
Francis J. Garrison, Esq., Lexington.  
Rev. Edward M. Gushee, Cambridge.  
President G. Stanley Hall, Worcester.  
Hon. J. M. Head, Boston.  
Hon. Roger Sherman Hoar, Concord.  
Prof. Lewis J. Johnson, Cambridge.  
Hon. George W. Kelly, Rockland.  
Henry W. Lamb, Esq., Brookline.  
Edwin D. Mead, Esq., Boston.  
Mrs. Lucia Ames Mead, Boston.  
Hon. R. M. Morse, Boston.  
James P. Munroe, Esq., Boston.  
Gen. Francis A. Osborn, Boston.  
Hon. Herbert C. Parsons, Greenfield.  
Hon. Josiah Quincy, Boston.  
Dr. Francis H. Rowley, Boston.  
Dr. Patrick J. Timmins, Boston.  
Hon. Winslow Warren, Dedham.

## MICHIGAN.

Charles S. Hampton, Esq., Detroit.  
Charles Humphrey, Esq., Adrian.  
Rt. Rev. Charles D. Williams, Detroit.

## MINNESOTA.

Frederick G. Corser, Esq., Minneapolis.  
Hon. John Lind, Minneapolis.

## MISSISSIPPI.

Hon. John S. Williams, Yazoo City.

## MISSOURI.

John P. Herrmann, Esq., St. Louis.

## MONTANA.

Massena Bullard, Esq., Helena.  
Andrew Dunsire, Esq., Kalispell.  
Edward Scharnikow, Esq., Deer Lodge.

## NEBRASKA.

A. J. Sawyer, Esq., Lincoln.  
Rt. Rev. Arthur S. Williams, Omaha.

## NEVADA.

Dr. J. J. Sullivan, Virginia City.

## NEW HAMPSHIRE.

Hon. Henry F. Hollis, Concord.

## NEW JERSEY.

Ralph W. E. Donges, Esq., Camden.  
Hon. Francis E. Woodruff, Morristown.

## NEW YORK.

Everett V. Abbot, Esq., New York.  
Rev. Richard W. Boynton, Buffalo.

Andrew Carnegie, Esq., New York.  
R. Fulton Cutting, Esq., New York.  
Charles Stewart Davison, Esq., New York.

Prof. John Dewey, New York.  
Hon. Louis R. Ehrich, New York.  
Col. Patrick Ford, New York.  
Austen G. Fox, Esq., New York.  
Henry W. Hardon, Esq., New York.  
Henry Hentz, Esq., New York.  
William Dean Howells, Esq., New York.

Hon. Thomas Mott Osborne, Auburn.  
Rev. C. H. Parkhurst, New York.  
Hon. Edward M. Shepard, New York.  
Mrs. Fanny Garrison Villard, Dobbs Ferry.  
Oswald Garrison Villard, New York.

## NORTH CAROLINA.

President L. L. Hobbs, Guilford.

## NORTH DAKOTA.

A. C. Reinecke, Esq., Fargo.

## OHIO.

Gen. Roeliff Brinkerhoff, Mansfield.  
Hon. John J. Lentz, Columbus.  
Hon. Rufus B. Smith, Cincinnati.  
Edward Stang, Esq., Cincinnati.  
Charles B. Wilby, Esq., Cincinnati.

## OKLAHOMA.

Dr. D. H. Patton, Woodward.

## OREGON.

James Hennessy Murphy, Esq., Portland.  
H. B. Nicholas, Esq., Portland.  
Col. C. E. S. Wood, Portland.

## PENNSYLVANIA.

Dr. W. Horace Hoskins, Philadelphia.  
Hon. Alfred H. Love, Philadelphia.  
Mickle C. Paul, Esq., Philadelphia.  
Frank Stephens, Esq., Philadelphia.  
Dr. Robert Ellis Thompson, Philadelphia.  
Herbert Welsh, Esq., Philadelphia.

## RHODE ISLAND.

Hon. Lucius F. C. Garvin, Lonsdale.  
Edwin C. Pierce, Esq., Providence.

## SOUTH CAROLINA.

Willie Jones, Esq., Columbia.  
Hon. James Simons, Charleston.

## SOUTH DAKOTA.

Hon. Levi McGee, Rapid City.  
Joseph B. Moore, Esq., Lead.  
Hon. Richard F. Pettigrew, Sioux Falls.

## TENNESSEE.

Hon. John Wesley Gaines, Nashville.

#### TEXAS.

Frederick Opp, Esq., Llano.  
Hon. James L. Slayden, San Antonio.

#### UTAH.

P. J. Daly, Esq., Salt Lake City.

#### VERMONT.

Major F. W. Childs, Brattleboro.  
Rev. Charles H. Pennoyer, Springfield.

#### VIRGINIA.

President George H. Denny, Lexington.

#### WASHINGTON.

C. G. Heifner, Esq., Seattle.

#### WEST VIRGINIA.

Hon. A. S. Johnston, Union.  
Hon. John E. Stealey, Clarksburg.

#### WISCONSIN.

William George Bruce, Esq., Milwaukee.

#### WYOMING.

Hon. John C. Hamm, Cheyenne.

A letter was received from the HON. LOUIS R. EHRLICH, which was, in part, as follows

New York, November 25, 1910.

It is easy to run with the shouting crowd, or to speak out in the heat of political campaigns; but the readiness to stand with a seeming small minority, and the steadfastness to defend a principle in the face of apparent national indifference, bespeak a depth of conviction and a sense of public duty which must command the admiration of discerning men. We Anti-Imperialists realize that our Republic has committed a gigantic crime; that we not only decimated a trustful people whom the chances of war had brought into friendly alliance, but that we sinned against the very spirit of our Republican faith in denying to them that opportunity of self-government which we had proclaimed as the right of mankind. We have sullied the name of Democracy! We have clothed the Republic in the robes of despotism appropriate to the spirit of monarchy. Under such unfortunate conditions a happy omen must rest in the fact that the nation still contains some men, however few, who clearly recognize our national recreancy; with whom there is "no variableness nor shadow of turning;" and who, season after season, and year after year, make public appeal that a great wrong may be righted, and that this great experiment of self-governing mankind shall not imperil its own future or besmirch its own political integrity by denying to others that which it has cherished as its own highest prerogative and blessing.





325.313  
Am 8w  
v. 13

LIBRARY  
OF THE  
UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

You are earnestly asked to hand this, after reading, to some other person who will also give it careful consideration.

# REPORT

OF THE

## Thirteenth Annual Meeting

OF THE

## Anti-Imperialist League

NOVEMBER 30, 1911

AND ITS ADJOURNMENT

JANUARY 9, 1912

---

PUBLISHED BY  
THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST LEAGUE  
BOSTON



## REPORT

The last Saturday in November is the date fixed by the Constitution for the Annual Meeting of the Anti-Imperialist League. It was accordingly held November 30, 1911, at the office of the Secretary. An adjournment was made to a date to be fixed in accordance with the convenience, when it could be ascertained, of the speakers desired to address the organization. The meeting was arranged to be held at the rooms of the Twentieth Century Club, 3 Joy Street, Boston, on Tuesday, January 9, 1912, at two o'clock in the afternoon, President Storey presiding. A luncheon preceded.

### REPORT OF THE SECRETARY.

#### RETROSPECT.

It has seemed fitting in this report to make a change in the usual order of first enumerating the events of the past year, and to begin it with a reminiscence of the greatest interest to the League, now, through the lapse of time, almost historical in character.

More than thirteen years ago;—to be particular, on June 2, 1898, there appeared in a Boston newspaper a letter under the caption of "A Cry for Help." After quotations from various sources (which indicated that the war then going on, undertaken in behalf of the down-trodden and suffering, was being turned into a war of conquest; that the President of the United States was inclined to think that the logic of things called upon the American people to keep the Philippines; and that our share of the markets among the teeming millions of Asia and Oceania would be vastly larger than they could possibly be without the possession of the islands) the author of this letter thus proceeded:

"In the name of all the past glories of Massachusetts, I call for help in response to this appeal. Some months ago I tried to get up a Faneuil Hall meeting to protest against the war,

but was met with the excuse that the war feeling might get the upper hand. Other persons tried the same thing later, but gave it up, apparently for the same reasons. If that is the danger, in God's name let us stand for the right,—though the war feeling does prevail! Is free speech to be suppressed in Massachusetts, is Faneuil Hall to be converted into a silent tomb? The spirit of Wendell Phillips and William Lloyd Garrison is sorely • needed to avert a slavery worse for Massachusetts at least than that of the negro. If any other men will join with me to secure the hall, I for one will stand up and have my say against the insane and wicked ambition which is driving this country to moral ruin."

In response to this letter the means were found to arrange for a Faneuil Hall meeting of protest on the afternoon of June 15, 1898. Faneuil Hall then became again the Cradle of Liberty, for the Anti-Imperialist League grew out of this meeting, from the appointment of committees thereat. The speakers were the Rev. Charles G. Ames, Mr. Moorfield Storey, Mr. George E. MacNeil, and the writer of the letter of June 2, the chairman of the meeting,—in a very real sense, therefore, the founder of the Anti-Imperialist League, whose sudden and terrible death August 21 last we mourned so deeply, and whose beloved name we ask you to greet here today with more than the customary respect and affection,—Gamaliel Bradford!

Leadership is often exercised by those whose arguments are forcible through under-statement. By laissez-faire many who are counted as leaders, avoiding the toil and moil of the arena, identify themselves at the psychological moment with the winning side. The clear and calm utterances of the philosopher have their value in reminding men to make haste slowly and to count the cost before they commit themselves to a plan of action.

• But no great moral cause ever prospered and won success without the kindling flame of fervid eloquence in denunciation of wrong and in glorification of righteousness. At the rebirth of our country we passed through the inevitable struggle precipitated by those tremendous appeals which made men's hearts burn, on the one hand with devotion to the Union, and on the other with hatred for the great curse which menaced its overthrow.

With Webster ("Sidney Smith's steam-engine in pantaloons") there was no under-statement. There was no avoidance of the actual battlefield. There was no philosophic calm when he



demanding "Liberty and Union, one and inseparable!" There was fire and fury in the inflexible Garrison's defiance: "I will be as harsh as truth and as uncompromising as justice," and in those fierce onslaughts of his co-worker which gave to the word "philippics" a new and tremendous meaning. To those who remembered the forums of those days and their inspiration, the intensity developed by our movement was the seal of its power and promise,—since in the next great crisis of the Republic, such a man as Bradford (with a loving nature and a heart tender in every personal relation) was raised up among us to arouse the public conscience in words that withered and scorched every form of wrong-doing and double-dealing, and the perpetrators thereof.

Let us not forget if any hesitate in the appreciation of our friend, that he whose name we commemorate was thus but a follower in the footsteps of the great Example of mankind, who passed from the Beatitudes of perfection to the stern denunciation: "Woe unto you Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites!"

The Anti-Imperialist League has lost from its list of Vice-Presidents the Hon. George Frederick Seward, of New York, an experienced and able diplomatist; the Rev. Professor Charles Marsh Mead, of Connecticut, a skilled and learned writer; Mr. David Stroud Burson, of Indiana, the oldest official and probably the oldest member of the League; General Roeliff Brinkerhoff, of Ohio, a hero of the Civil War and prominent in social reform; the Hon. Edward Morse Shepard, of New York, an illustrious publicist of the highest ideals; and the Hon. Louis R. Elrich, of New York, whose heart and life were illuminated by universal human sympathy.

These good men, conspicuous in public service of various kinds, valued their connection with the Anti-Imperialist League perhaps more highly than with any other association in which they were numbered. Their counsel was always ready, their gifts to the League generous, and their contributions, by the spoken and the written word, able and inspiring.

We have added to our official list the names of the Hon. Cyrus Cline, a member of the national House of Representatives from Indiana; Judge Edward Osgood Brown, of Illinois; the Hon. Oscar W. Underwood, a member of the national House of Representatives from Alabama; the Hon. Eugene F. Kinkead, a member of the national House of Representa-

tives from New Jersey; Mrs. Maria Freeman Gray, of California; Miss Emily L. Osgood, of Massachusetts; the Hon. Samuel W. McCall, a member of the national House of Representatives from Massachusetts; Judge Jackson H. Ralston, of the District of Columbia; Mr. Joseph Fels, of Pennsylvania; and Professor William Edward Dodd, of Illinois.

In one sense those who have dropped out of the ranks can never be replaced, but the added membership brings fresh views and new inspiration, and, after all these years,—many of them years of discouragement,—it is cheering to see that our numbers have continued to grow.

#### MEETINGS.

At the adjourned annual meeting held November 29, 1910, besides the address of the President and the Reports of the Secretary and Treasurer, addresses were made by Dr. David Starr Jordan, of Leland Stanford University, California, the Rev. A. A. Berle, D. D., and the Hon. Roger Sherman Hoar.

Among the most effective meetings of the year were those which were addressed by the Hon. Manuel L. Quezon, one of the resident Commissioners from the Philippine Islands, these meetings receiving sympathetic co-operation from the Anti-Imperialist League and being largely under the direct supervision of one of our Vicé-Presidents. Mr. Quezon thoroughly carried his audiences with him, even when they were inclined at first to be cold or unfriendly. When interrogatories came from the floor or criticisms were made by other speakers, they only gave him an opportunity to make a more distinctly favorable impression, not merely by his eloquence and grace as a speaker but by the keenness of his intellect and the logical force with which he presented his cause,—the early independence of the Filipinos.

Mr. Quezon was heard in Boston before the Beacon Society at the Algonquin Club, February 4.

February 7 an address was given under the auspices of the Board of Trade at Springfield.

June 2 he spoke at Norwich University in Northfield, and June 3 upon the Common at Brattleboro, Vermont.

Mr. Quezon was invited to be one of the speakers for the cause at Tammany Hall on the Fourth of July, as Governor Boutwell had been before him, and there had another extremely marked success.

Mr. Quezon was also invited to speak at the Lake Mohonk Conference, but he was unable to accept the invitation, as it seemed preferable that he should attend the First Universal Races Congress in London, to which he had been already bidden for a conflicting date. He therefore made a hasty trip to England, delivered his address at the Congress, and returning to the United States, crossed the continent and sailed from San Francisco for Manila, September 6th.

#### A PAMPHLET.

On the morning of March 13 last, there appeared in a large number of newspapers throughout the country more or less extended summaries of a pamphlet dated "Washington, February 21, 1911," entitled "An Open Letter to the Officers and Members of the Anti-Imperialist League" (before its reception by any of those persons), which had been sent out for "release" on that day. This day was Monday, always astutely chosen, it will be remembered, by a distinguished publicity expert on account of the attention challenged by the paucity of news in newspaper columns on that morning.

The pamphlet was threefold in its object:

1. To vindicate the author from charges against him in an argument made by the Hon. John A. Martin, printed in the Congressional Record and presented to the Insular Committee of the House of Representatives during their examination of the Administration of the Philippine Lands, in pursuance of a motion offered in the House by Mr. Martin:

2. To discredit a representative of the Anti-Imperialist League with his colleagues and with the public, by throwing upon him the responsibility for the accuracy of allegations declared to be false, made in the Summary of Mr. Martin's argument; for the publication of a Brief prepared on behalf of the Anti-Imperialist League by its attorney, the Hon. Jackson H. Ralston; and for the publication of a Summary of the Evidence, also prepared by Judge Ralston;

3. To denounce Judge Ralston for the matter of his Brief and Summary of the Evidence.

There is no occasion to criticize Mr. Martin's argument, nor is it pertinent to pronounce any verdict upon matters thoroughly discussed by the Committee on Insular Affairs, the Report of the Minority thereof being sufficient and satisfactory. Its views were thus expressed. The report says: "Nothing

that has been developed in this investigation goes to show that those charged with the responsibility of administering the land laws of the Philippine Islands have been guilty of any (\*criminal) wrong-doing." The report proceeds to assert that the evidence: "thoroughly condemns and discredits the policy pursued in the Philippines by those whose duty it is to administer those land laws." And farther: "The testimony shows that the practice obtains of selling and leasing public and friar lands to officials of the Philippine government. . . . The practice is permitted of government officials staking prospectors to locate mining claims for them. Among the lessees of public lands are E. L. Worcester, nephew of Secretary of the Interior, Dean C. Worcester." And in regard to the public lands: "They are the property of the people of the Philippines and should be administered and disposed of solely in their interest and for their benefit. They (its members) are thoroughly united in their opposition to the policy of exploitation to which the bureau of public lands seems to be so resolutely committed, and which is being pursued with utter disregard of the opinions and wishes of those most interested. . . . To our minds the law governing the disposition of these lands is so clear that there is no need for any resort to the courts in respect to it."

The Brief of Judge Ralston was accepted by the Executive Committee of the Anti-Imperialist League, having full power to represent the organization, and its publication as well as that of the Summary of an Argument and the Summary of the Evidence, having been approved by the same body, it is unnecessary for the Secretary to enter farther into the subject.

Judge Ralston's Summary of the Evidence established the position taken in his Brief, the conclusion of which may be quoted:

"We do not attack the 'law' honesty of the Philippine officials. While they may not have stolen the goose from off the common they have permitted the theft of 'the common from off the goose.' Their intelligent comprehension of their duty to their wards we deny in toto. They have no more idea of true republicanism, of true democracy, than if they had

\*The leader of the Minority of the Committee, the Hon. W. A. Jones, now the Chairman of the Committee itself, advised us that the word "criminal" was unintentionally omitted in the printed copy of the report hastily prepared.



lived 300 years ago. Modern thought means nothing to them. Conservation of resources for future generations they are incapable of understanding.

It is not necessary for us to determine how far their errors and blunders and shortcomings are due to the situation in which they find themselves. We can not forget, however, that they have been petty monarchs among a people for whom their contempt has been little disguised. Filipino public opinion is either ignored or its existence denied, as has repeatedly been done before this committee. Their attitude is that of the aristocrat toward the plebe, the master toward the serf. Too ignorant to know they should not speculate in things as to which they were trustees, they have had the effrontery to judge as to what was good for a people over whom an unkind providence has placed them. . . . Many of the most prominent American officials in the Philippine Islands have demonstrated such intellectual unfitness and moral obtuseness that they should be summarily removed.

The Philippine Government, without authority, has caused deeds and leases of public and friar lands to be executed to American citizens and corporations. The Attorney-General should be empowered to take appropriate methods to have these instruments set aside.

It should be made a criminal offense for Philippine officials directly or indirectly to purchase or lease the lands of the Philippines.

Such further legislation should be had as will absolutely prevent American exploitation of the Philippines so long as we exercise jurisdiction over them.

While we have enumerated those things which seem most immediately pressing, we should not for an instant be unconscious of the infinite egotism of Americans in assuming that they, who as yet are but learning to govern themselves, are competent to rule a people of another language, customs, traditions, ideals and mode of thought. Rather than continue to display our necessary incompetence, we should permit the Filipinos in their own way, learning by their own mistakes, to develop for themselves that system of government and that civilization which shall prove most nearly in accord with their aspirations."

As apparently there has been in some quarters a misunderstanding as to the nature of the moral charges proved against the Philippine officials according to the Minority Report of

the Insular Committee, when it is said that officials had not "been guilty of any (criminal) wrong-doing," it is proper to allow Judge Ralston, holding as it were a Brief for the prosecution, to state his case:

"I do not think that my Brief contains any charge of personal fraud against the Philippine officials. I mean in the sense of filching money. To deny, therefore, the correctness of the Brief on the theory that it charges such personal fraud, would be to deny what does not exist, in the Brief referred to. The Brief charges very distinctly the doing of acts which show an utter lack of moral appreciation on the part of the doers, and which some of them would not have been permitted by a court of equity in this country, and as to certain of them would have been absolutely forbidden by law to those in this country holding parallel positions. Whether when the Philippine officials did these things, the idea of personal gain was in their minds or was not, is immaterial. The things they did were morally wrong and largely legally indefensible, and their way of escape should not be made easy."

It should be mentioned that a verdict rendered upon the pamphlet named has given it somewhat the character of a boomerang; a petition, quite numerous and influentially signed, having been presented to the President, the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled, through the Hon. James L. Slayden, of Texas, May 16 last, representing that, largely in consequence of the publication of this pamphlet, it was desirable to institute a special inquiry into the manner in which the author of it has discharged the duties of his office as Commissioner of the Philippine Islands, with reference to appropriate action to be taken in the probable result of such inquiry.

#### AGGRESSION IN SOUTH AMERICA.

It may be repeated that the thing chiefly to be regarded by the Anti-Imperialist League is the condition of the United States rather than the condition of distant lands. We regret suffering and wrong in remote countries, but we regret especially the wrong-headedness of those at home who cause, or assent to, injustice by the United States toward those remote countries, and we oppose any development of imperialism here. The conditions in the Philippines have shown flagrant injustice towards the Filipinos which we are engaged in re-

sisting not only because it injures them, but because it sows the seeds of injustice. We must likewise oppose in our own midst similar injustice or wrong policy in regard to other places than the Philippine Islands. There is danger that our country may become involved in enterprises which may result in what may be called Caesarism or Imperialism in our relations with other foreign countries, and particularly with those on the American continent south of the United States, who have shown entirely reasonable apprehension that aggression might be attempted by this country. Their situation may be understood by imagining our feelings if parallel circumstances arose with reference to the United States. When our Civil War was raging fifty years ago, if mediation, as suggested by England, France and Russia, had been attempted, would there not have been violent resentment here? Suppose now that the government of some foreign country should happen to believe very firmly and conscientiously that conditions in the United States were very bad and that religion was neglected or our affairs corruptly administered. The Russians, for instance, have an established church to which they are presumably devoted, and they might easily discover in the United States a noticeable amount of law-breaking and misgovernment as well as non-conformity in religious matters. If they felt it their Christian duty to regulate systematically everything in this country it is unnecessary to say that the people of the United States would resist their benevolent assimilation as unjustifiable. There appears to be danger that action of similar character may be attempted by the United States in Central or South America. It is alleged that comparatively good conditions have been produced by our benevolence in Santo Domingo. The Canal Zone in Panama is administered under United States authority; and it is alleged that Panama, in which the Canal is situated, is subjected to something more than moral suasion by the United States. It has been stated that the government of Panama must not authorize the construction of a railroad across the Isthmus by German capital, because the United States does not wish to have a rival line of communication there. The method by which the government of Panama was established about eight years ago has been thoroughly condemned not only by Columbia, from which it was separated, but by a very large number of people in our own country, who regard it as a blot on our national fame. Mr. John F. Stevens, who had something interesting to say

about the Panama Canal four years ago, discussed the subject before the Oregon Society of Engineers with frankness and ability, in a paper which is printed in the November, 1911, number of the Journal of the Association of Engineering Societies. Mr. Stevens depreciates to some extent both the probable military and commercial value of the Canal to the United States. Of course, against any special value in time of war must be set off the large increase of our military expenses that it will inevitably incur. The suggestion to which Mr. Stevens alludes as having been made by many persons that the United States in certain contingencies would openly assume control of the entire republic of Panama, either by martial law or by some form of territorial government,—if carried out, would certainly make the rape from Columbia a back number.

During the hostilities in Mexico within the past year there was great apprehension that the interest of American capital (which had gone into Mexico at its own risk for profit or loss) might be endangered, and that some persons of influence, and many irresponsible interlopers from the United States, would urge the United States government to interfere for its protection. It is proposed that in Honduras and Nicaragua the receipts at the Custom Houses should be put in charge of persons nominated from the United States, and that the United States government should be authorized to secure the collection and disbursement of the revenue in the interest of American capitalists who contemplate making loans to those countries. This involves serious risk of complications which may lead to further interferences and ultimate control. It has been alleged that the South American States themselves request the exchange of the conventions establishing the arrangements urged by President Taft as "treaties of peace." Whatever may be the official action at the moment the people of these states certainly are not acquiescent in the scheme. An organization called the Hispano-American University, with the motto: "Libertad, Ciencia, Paz" (Liberty, Science, Peace) is forming for the purpose, according to its program, "of saving all Latin-America from the odious tutelage of the United States in the North." Senor Juan E. Paredes, formerly special minister of the Honduras government to Washington, appointed to negotiate the Morgan loan of \$10,000,000, has recently resigned because of the terms arranged for it by Secretary Knox, Senor Paredes asserting that it was not a loan,



but a speculation, which, being guaranteed by the United States, would mean the establishment of a protectorate in Honduras.

The delicacy of these and other foreign relations of the United States is such as should put our citizens upon their guard and confirm their determination to treat with justice all their neighbors and to recognize generally their independent right to govern (or misgovern) their own countries and work out their own salvation. We are opposed to the spirit with which former President Theodore Roosevelt is quoted as saying that he "took" Panama. We commend the policy that the United States adopted in voting that Cuba should have its independence. We believe with Lincoln that "no man is good enough to govern another without that other's consent," and a fortiori, no nation is good enough to govern another nation.

The average virtue of a whole people never rises to the height attained by the best citizens, and if the best are not good enough, surely the average of good and bad is not to be trusted.

#### HEARINGS BEFORE THE COMMITTEE ON INSULAR AFFAIRS OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Soon after the last annual meeting, December 9, 1910, hearings commenced before the Committee on Insular Affairs of the House of Representatives upon the sale of friar lands in the Philippine Islands, in conformity with a resolution introduced by the Hon. John A. Martin, of Colorado, and passed on the last day of the second session of the sixty-first Congress, June 23, 1910.

In regard to the perverse effort which has been made to confuse the responsibility for Mr. Martin's speeches in the House of Representatives, the evidence submitted by him and the resolution which led to the hearings, our friends should know that on a very recent date Mr. Martin writes in a manner which is not so superfluous as it ought to be: "The Anti-Imperialist League had nothing to do whatever with the charges I made in my resolutions and speeches about the conduct of Washington or Insular officials or the sale of friar lands. If necessary, I should be glad to exonerate the League completely on this score."

Upon the hearings the Brief was prepared by the Hon. Jackson H. Ralston as attorney for the Anti-Imperialist League. The "Views of the Minority" of the Committee, signed by five

Democratic members, we are inclined to accept, as has been stated.

The Hon. W. A. Jones, who was the leader of the Minority of the Committee and who headed the Minority Report, is now chairman of the Insular Committee, which has, of course, a Democratic majority.

This hearing had for the time a very important result, as indicated in the following extract from the Report of the Bureau of Insular Affairs, dated November 30, 1911:

"The investigation by a committee of Congress of the Bureau of Lands of the Philippine Government having developed a difference of opinion among the members of the committee concerning the legality and propriety of selling unoccupied tracts of the friars' estates in larger areas than authorized by law in the case of the public lands in the Philippines, the Philippine Government, under advice of the Secretary of War, refrained from any further sales in excess of the limits fixed for the public lands. This suspension of its rights, under the law as interpreted by all authorities that have passed upon it, is still in force awaiting the will of Congress, in case it is desired by that body to take definite action in the matter."

But President Taft, in his message to Congress of December 21, reversing the action of Secretary Dickinson, proposes no longer to await the will of Congress in the matter, and says: "I expect to direct the Secretary of War to return to the practice under the opinion of the Attorney-General which will enable us to dispose of the lands much more promptly." The course which the President purposes taking is characteristic. It is well-known that he desires to fix the colonial policy upon the United States, and the exploitation of the islands in the manner proposed is a very effective step in that direction. Of course, in Mr. Taft's political attitude, it is desirable that he should propitiate all interests as far as possible. His declaration is eminently calculated to propitiate the "Big Business" which has cast its eyes upon the Philippines as a field for monopolistic adventure, while he apprehends no serious objection from the electorate in his own party. The crisis makes immediate action by Congress vitally necessary, pledging a not remote independence to the Philippine Islands, to warn off these greedy exploiters and to defeat the schemes of the Administration.

The Hon. John A. Martin has written, in regard to President Taft's recommendation, that he intends to push im-

mediately his Philippine land bill, which he hopes will counteract it. This bill, it may be remembered, was introduced into the sixty-second Congress, first session, April 24, 1911, as an amendment to the Organic Act of July 1, 1902, and establishes a limitation of sales of agricultural land to sixteen hectares to any one person, and one thousand and twenty-four hectares to any corporation or association, buyers being actual settlers and citizens, occupying, improving and cultivating for not less than five years; and declares null and void all sales hitherto made contrary to the provisions of the act, such lands to escheat to the government of the Philippine Islands, and that after its passage no officers or employees of the Philippine Government should acquire any interest whatever in the purchase or lease of public lands, and that all such interests already acquired by any of them should also escheat to the Philippine Government.

THE FOLLOWING PROTEST AGAINST THE PROPOSED ACTION  
WAS ADOPTED BY THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE AND  
SENT TO THE PRESIDENT DEC. 30, 1911.

To the President of the United States:

The undersigned, in pursuance of a resolution adopted by the Executive Committee of the Anti-Imperialist League, invite your attention to the following facts:

The sale of the lands in the Philippine Islands which are known as the friar lands was made the subject of an investigation by the Committee on Insular Affairs, under a resolution passed by the House of Representatives June 25, 1910, and their report was made on the last day of the sixty-first Congress. Though the conclusions of the members were stated in four different reports, one signed by nine members of the committee, one signed by three members of the committee, one signed by a single member of the committee, and the fourth signed by five members of the committee, the whole committee without regard to party affiliations concluded that further legislation by Congress was necessary in regard to the sale of these lands.

Thus, the report signed by Mr. Olmsted and Mr. Crumacker and seven others concluded with the phrase: "The advisability of enacting reasonable limitations respecting the quantity of friar lands that may hereafter be acquired, either by individuals or corporations, is respectfully commended to the consideration of Congress."

Mr. Rucker, regarding it as a doubtful question whether the sales already made of friar lands were legal, recommended that a test suit should be brought for the purpose of having that question determined by a judgment of a court.

The report signed by Messrs. Hubbard, Davis and Madison concluded: "We join most heartily in commending to Congress consideration of the question of placing a reasonable limitation upon the quantity of friar lands that may be acquired by an individual, and we indulge the hope that until Congress has had an opportunity to act, no further sales will be made of such lands in large tracts." The fourth report signed by Mr. Jones and four others reached the conclusion that the sales already made were in violation of the law, and that if any change was to be made in the law, Congress alone could make it. The reports also disclosed that the policy of the law in regard to the exploitation of the Philippines had been disregarded and its requirement in some cases at least evaded.

In view of these reports all further sales of the friar lands were suspended by the Secretary of War, Mr. Dickinson, pending the action of Congress.

Although the sixty-second Congress did not undertake during the extra session to deal with any but tariff questions and questions of necessary appropriation, and is just beginning a session which will be devoted to general legislation, we observe by your message sent to Congress December 21, 1911, that you propose to direct the Secretary of War to continue the sales of the friar lands.

The Executive Committee earnestly hopes that this intention will not be carried out, and that while there is not only a substantial doubt as to the power of the Insular Government to sell the friar lands in such large tracts as have already been sold, there is also the serious question whether if the law does authorize such sales it should not be amended so as to prevent any sales of these lands in quantities exceeding the amounts specified in section 15 of the Organic Act approved July 1, 1902. These questions involve considerations of public policy far more important to the Philippine people and to the people of the United States than any amount of money which can be realized from the sale, and while these questions are unsettled, the continuance of sales by executive order, without action by Congress, will not only embarrass Congress and discourage the Filipinos, who are opposed to the sale of their most fertile



lands in large tracts to non-resident exploiters, but will also leave a cloud upon the titles of purchasers that may embarrass them in the future.

In the opinion of many good lawyers the purchasers of the lands already sold have not acquired a title to the lands which they have purchased, and important questions of policy are raised in the reports of the Insular Committee which only Congress can settle.

We earnestly protest therefore against any further sales of the lands in question, both because such sales tend to foreclose a question that is now under consideration by Congress, and because the sales in our judgment tend to postpone the independence of the Philippine Islands and to embarrass the relations between those islands and the United States by creating interests adverse to the interests of the Filipino people.

MOORFIELD STOREY, President.  
ERVING WINSLOW, Secretary.

#### PETITION TO THE COMMITTEE ON INSULAR AFFAIRS OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

We had hoped that at the last special session of Congress a resolution promising Philippine independence might in some form have passed the House. After the introduction of such a resolution had been considerably delayed, the Executive Committee adopted a petition addressed to the Insular Committee for the consideration of such a resolution, but the opinion still prevailed that it was desirable not to enter into the subject until the time came for its full discussion, perhaps with an opportunity for hearings.

The Executive Committee's petition was as follows:

June 15, 1911.

The Anti-Imperialist League begs to submit that it respectfully acquiesced in the decision of the Insular Committee of the House of Representatives not to take up the consideration of a Philippine independence resolution at this session, because of the representation that such a resolution could not be introduced without interfering with the business for which the session was called, and that public attention could not be centered at this time upon the discussion of the resolution in the Committee and in the Congress.

But the session being so greatly prolonged and so much

irrelevant matter being introduced therein, the League ventures to urge very strongly,—in view of the general desire for immediate action expressed in the Senate by Senators Newlands, Williams and Borah, and in the House by Representatives Cline, Garland, Peters, Martin, McCall, Slayden, among other Senators and Representatives; and in view of the very acute disappointment at the delay which has been expressed in the Philippine Islands,—that the several motions for their independence which have been offered and referred to the Insular Committee should be at once taken up and considered there, and that a resolution based upon them may, if possible, be presented in the House of Representatives before adjournment.

MOORFIELD STOREY, President.  
ERVING WINSLOW, Secretary.

#### ADDRESS TO THE FILIPINO PEOPLE.

The most important action of the year was perhaps the address adopted by the Executive Committee, July 27, and forwarded for publication to the Philippine press. It reached the islands during the month of September and was published in full in the newspapers, native and foreign. Appended to the address were many specimens of responses received from Democratic members of Congress in reply to an appeal made to them to support a resolution promising speedy independence, which were almost all of an encouraging character. It may be added that similar appeals for a line-up in the coming session of Congress have received on the whole quite as favorable replies.

The text of the address follows:

The Anti-Imperialist League, in the interest of Americans and Filipinos alike, has for nearly thirteen years devoted all its energies and all the means with which it has been entrusted to the task of endeavoring to bring our countrymen to a better mind in regard to the Philippine aggression, that they might atone for the national departure of 1898 from the principles upon which our government rests, and incidentally restore their independence to the people of the Philippine Islands.

It is well-known that almost all the great and wise leaders of the Republican party in the past, such as Ex-President Harrison, Ex-Secretary of the Treasury Sherman, Ex-Speaker Thomas B. Reed, Senator George F. Hoar in particular, and such eminent members of the party as Representative Samuel

W. McCall and Andrew Carnegie today are on record as condemning the policy which we oppose. Nevertheless, the fact that the taking of the Philippines was a party measure, emphasized and accepted as such, has hitherto made our work during Republican rule extremely difficult, and the establishment of a Commission in the Philippines with all its numerous officials and dependents has created new and powerful influences in favor of retaining the archipelago. The Democratic party, however, has in three successive national campaigns,—those of 1900, 1904 and 1908,—made Philippine independence a part of its platform, and the doctrine has been generally adopted by the party. It is not strange that the repeated predictions made in writing and in public speech by the first great president of the League, Ex-Governor George S. Boutwell, that for the success of our cause the Republican party must be overthrown, have been accepted very generally by the League and by the people of the United States who are interested in its undertakings.

It was with great hope and courage, therefore, that we have all prepared ourselves for a vigorous onslaught at the assembling of the sixty-second Congress. Philippine resolutions were presented in the House of Representatives, April 4, by Representative Cline, of Indiana; April 24, by Representative Martin, of Colorado (for the limitation of land sales); April 27, by Representative Sabath, of Illinois; April 29, by Representative Garner, of Texas; May 18, by Representative Peters, of Massachusetts; May 22, by Representative McCall, of Massachusetts; May 22, by Representative Martin; and June 16, by Representative Cline for the second time. All these resolutions were referred in due course to the Insular Committee. It was the suggestion of Speaker Clark, of Representative Underwood (Chairman of the important Ways and Means Committee), of Representative Peters and of members of the Insular Committee that these resolutions should be discussed and a resolution formulated by the committee. After some time, however, the consideration gathered weight that as the session was an extra one called for a special purpose it was undesirable to divert attention from that purpose by the introduction of matter which undoubtedly would require full and thorough discussion, with possible division of opinion as to details. This decision was acquiesced in by members of the House of Representatives most friendly to Philippine independence, and it was obviously the general opinion that it

was undesirable to take up the motion in the committee at this session so long as the matter could not be presented in the House.

There is in this not the least occasion for discouragement since the subject will doubtless be dealt with next winter, when public attention can be centered upon the meetings of the committee, and when fresh from those meetings an authoritative measure can be offered in the House, such as the Chairman of the committee himself has declared it his purpose to prepare and present with all the influence of his position. Meanwhile the opportunity has been given us of making a new attack along the line, by interviews, by correspondence, and by the circulation of documents, especially among the Congressmen.

There is one matter which is cause for grave anxiety, the continued acquisition of Philippine lands by non-resident purchasers and the consequent exclusion of Philippine owners. This policy is calculated to delay and embarrass the establishment of Philippine independence. It has been carried out with ardor under the administration of President Taft, by the present Governor-General whose activities in the matter were shown so clearly during the investigation held at the instigation of Representative Martin, by a committee of the House of Representatives. Foreign ownership of Philippine lands necessarily means the creation of a powerful lobby intensely opposed to Philippine independence, setting up in the archipelago, to the injury of its people, exactly those influences which the American people with such difficulty are attempting to restrict and disperse at home and which in the Philippine Islands are calculated to destroy not only the fortunes but the very life of the people. It is very gratifying to know that the Secretary of War last Spring gave a personal promise to the Chairman of the Insular Committee that no more great land sales should be made until some settlement of the questions recently raised concerning them should be made by Congress.

It is impossible to refrain from speaking with enthusiastic appreciation of the extraordinary services rendered by the new Philippine Commissioner, the Hon. Manuel L. Quezon, the worthy successor of the Hon. Pablo Ocampo. Mr. Quezon has made in Washington and in many American cities a most brilliant and successful campaign in behalf of his country. He has now gone to London, as we think wisely, to represent the Philippine people at the Universal Races Congress, which is being held there, and whether he returns to his native land or



not before next winter to appeal for their renewed support, no patriotic Filipino should fail loyally to sustain him in his representative commissionership. Everywhere he has won adherents for his cause by his patriotic eloquence, while in his own person he has made an admirable exhibit of national capability and character. Mr. Quezon has written letters to all the members of Congress asking their views as to Philippine independence, and extracts from the replies, which are very remarkable in number and in quality, will do more than any words that we can use to give cheer and confidence to the Filipino people. Of the letters, hardly any are unfavorable. Those which are not outspoken in favor of Philippine independence almost always promise to give the matter respectful consideration.

\* \* \* \* \*

It might be added that, as far as the sentiments of the country can be tested by the newspapers and by ordinary personal intercourse outside of official circles, not only the seizure of the Philippine Islands but the war with Spain, which led to the acquisition of the archipelago, are today episodes of American history which the country regrets. The act of justice involved in the surrender of the Philippine Islands to their rightful owners, it is believed, would meet with general and enthusiastic approval.

It should be mentioned as a note of encouragement that several candidates for the Democratic nomination for the Presidency have more or less specifically pledged themselves to the cause of Philippine independence.

MOORFIELD STOREY, President.  
ERVING WINSLOW, Secretary.

The effect of the address in the Philippine Islands was naturally very great. It arrived when it attracted the attention of the new Assembly, and at the time when elaborate arrangements were on foot for the reception of Mr. Quezon on his return. Even the American press, in its comments upon the document and the declarations which accompanied it, concedes that the question of Philippine independence is now to be taken up and discussed and acted upon with the probable culmination of some definite declaration. It was also stated by some of these organs that news from Washington had assured them that "the Administration will not oppose any independence declaration which is at all conservative!"

New documents circulated by the League during the year have been as follows:—many of them having been reproduced in the columns of friendly newspapers, so that they have reached hundred of thousands of readers, against thousands accessible through more expensive pamphlet forms:

“Report of Twelfth Annual Meeting of the Anti-Imperialist League, November 26, 1910.”

“A Conservation Policy for the Philippines.” Article in “The Southern Workman,” by Dr. David P. Barrows, December, 1910.

“Brief on Behalf of the Anti-Imperialist League.” Pamphlet prepared by Jackson H. Ralston, Frederick L. Siddons and William E. Richardson, attorneys for Anti-Imperialist League. February 9, 1911.

“Fortifying the Canal.” Open letter in the Lewiston Sun by Gamaliel Bradford, February, 1911.

“Philippine Independence.” National Monthly, Erving Winslow, February, 1911.

“Conditions in the Philippines.” Speech of Hon. James L. Slayden, of Texas, in the House of Representatives, March 1, 1911.

“Philippine Independence.” Speech of Hon. Manuel L. Quezon in the House of Representatives, March 2, 1911.

“Philippine Policy.” Translation from letter in La Vanguardia by Dr. Ferdinand Blumentritt, in Lewiston Sun, March 10, 1911.

“Taking Stock in Philippines.” Editorial, New York Evening Post, April 29, 1911.

“The Philippines for the Filipinos.” The Commoner. Erving Winslow. May 12, 1911.

“Neutralization as a Peace Measure.” The Peacemaker. Erving Winslow. June 1, 1911.

“Fourth of July in the Philippines.” Translation from La Vanguardia, July 3, 1911.

“The ‘Wild Tribes’ and Other Filipinos.” Letter from Sixto Lopez in the Philippines Free Press, July 8 and 15, 1911.

“Governor Forbes’s Policy Criticized.” Translation from La Vanguardia, July 21, 1911.

“The Basis of the Filipino Appeal.” Communication to Sacramento Bee by Hon. Manuel L. Quezon, July 27, 1911.

"Philippine Development." Translation from letter in *La Vanguardia* by Hermenegildo Cruz. July 29, 1911.

"The Philippines and the Monroe Doctrine." The Independent. Professor James Schouler, LL. D.

"The Policy of Exploitation." Translation from *La Vanguardia*, August 14, 1911.

"Philippine Independence." Speech of Hon. Eugene F. Kinkead, in the House of Representatives, August 22, 1911.

"Appeal of the Anti-Imperialist League." D. G. Haskins, Jr.

"To the Filipino People." Address by the Anti-Imperialist League, *La Vanguardia*, September 19, 1911.

"Taft: An Appreciation." Communication to various newspapers from "A Filipino."

"Taft's Mistake on Trusts." Communication to various newspapers from Secretary.

"Neutralization." The Springfield Republican. Erving Winslow. October 16, 1911.

"The Anti-Imperialist Position." Boston Herald. Erving Winslow. October 24, 1911.

"Neglected Markets." Leaflet. American Economic League. P. B. 97.

## THE OUTLOOK.

As affecting the outlook, there are many new arguments to be urged in behalf of our cause and many new points of attack. We are now enabled to quote from a reply to a request from the Military Committee of the national House of Representatives recently given by the heads of bureaus that the cost of the military occupation of the Philippine Islands has been between one hundred and sixty-seven and one hundred and sixty-eight millions of dollars, under the assumption that if the army had not been in the islands, a number of troops equal to the number of Philippine scouts would have been maintained in the United States. But those who desire to exploit the islands care as little what has been expended hitherto in our process of assimilation as they do for the natives of the islands themselves or for their wishes in the matter. There are undoubtedly great riches in the islands, and the keen eyes of the capitalists are greedily fixed upon them.

It will surprise those who might fear that the lack of homogeneity and the turbulent character of the Moros would make it impossible for an independent Philippine government to

control the entire archipelago, to know that the Philippine native newspapers, instead of hailing with gratification the recent crusade against the Moros for the purpose of disarmament, bitterly deplored this extension of the "civilizing mission" of their "teachers." The movement begun under the command of Brigadier-General Pershing at one time threatened to be a war of serious proportions, and another Mt. Dajo slaughter was only avoided by the capitulation of an intrenched garrison.

A notable illustration of the kind of burden laid upon the Filipinos by the requirements of their rulers is the famous Benguet road, constructed under enormous engineering difficulties to give access to Bagnio, the cool resting place in the mountains resorted to by the American officials, this road having cost already, as it is estimated, some two million dollars. Renewed applications to the Assembly were to be made for vast farther appropriations for repairs, even before the damages had been inflicted by the recent destructive floods in Luzon, but they will be strongly opposed.

There is less harmony between the Filipinos and the present Governor-General than there was with his predecessors in office. The Filipinos have come to understand that the establishment of a permanent colonial system and the development of the lands of the Philippine Islands, and not primarily the interests of the people, is the object more determinedly sought than ever before.

A striking speech was recently made in Manila by General J. Franklin Bell,—doubly remarkable coming from the lips of a martialist like the author inasmuch as it contained a strong appeal for a change of heart to the Americans, whose conduct in the Philippines rendered friendship between the two races impossible, and also as making frank acknowledgment that the chasm between them actually yawned more widely than ever before. The Governor-General in his recent imploring appeal to his fellow-countrymen to treat the Filipinos like men recognizes the existence of the same condition of things concerning which Mr. Taft, as Civil Governor, said eight years ago at Reading College: "If I did not confidently hope that there must be a great change in the future, I shall be very much discouraged in respect to the result of the experiment which the United States is making in these islands." Are not eight years long enough to carry conviction? If not,—"How long, O Lord, how long?"

There are many specific grievances suggesting many lines of



effort. But the great point at issue now is to procure the passage of such a resolution by Congress, promising independence to the Filipinos, as may warn off the exploiter,—the foreign investor,—whose influence would so seriously jeopardize any movement for separation of the archipelago from the United States.

The immensely critical situation of last year,—which threatened all hopes of independence for the Filipinos under the persistent efforts of the Administration and the Governor-General of the islands to sell the public lands in great areas for development was saved, as it appears only for the time, by Mr. Martin's zealous and courageous crusade. Any one of the six independence resolutions which have been referred to the Insular committee of the House of Representatives or any other similar resolution which, in its wisdom, the majority of the Insular Committee might recommend would probably be acceptable to us, provided always that a definite pledge or promise be given of Philippine independence to warn off the "foreign" investor. If this is won, without resting on our arms, we shall indeed take good courage to carry on our contest.

That we may not obtain a solid Democratic vote is unfortunately evidenced in more than one quarter. An article appears in the open forum of the January number of the National Monthly, by the Hon. William C. Redfield, a member of Congress from Brooklyn, which is written with an air of fairness and discrimination. But the author, instead of rejecting colonialism as a doctrine abominable to Democracy, thinks it necessary that we should assume responsibility of ownership and that the true Democratic doctrine should be that until a majority of the people "shall be able to cast a ballot which they can read in any language," the question of their future relation to the United States should not be submitted to them. He loses himself in the old delusions that the people of the islands have neither common aims, nor common customs, nor common religion, nor common speech, and are incapable of self-control. After thirteen years he echoes the nauseous old cry that any measures for the abandonment of the islands would be a hasty "scuttle!"

It seems impossible to avoid reiterated urgency of the great peace measure of neutralization, turning to advantage the jealousies of the powers desirous of increasing their territory, but perhaps even less desirous of seeing the aggrandizement of a rival. Had the United States set the example of the general

neutralization of the Philippine Islands, the note might have been struck for this method of dealing with peoples capable of national evolution, now in the course of being swallowed up or which have been swallowed during the last decade. Had the public conscience inspired diplomatic effort in this direction, results might have been attained more promising for permanent peace than treaties of arbitration and something of an ethical element introduced in a practical and reasonable manner into international relations. A valuable pamphlet on the subject, containing a reprint by the author of his article in the *Atlantic Monthly*, September, 1911, has been recently published by Mr. Cyrus French Wicker, secretary of the United States Embassy at Tangier.

Imperfect knowledge of the merits of the suit brought against *El Renacimiento*, the suppressed native newspaper, for the famous "Bird of Prey" article, by the Philippine Secretary of the Interior, need not prevent our gratification at the news that the Supreme Court of the United States has within a few weeks admitted a petition for a writ of error in the case. A matter of supreme importance involving the freedom of the press and the opportunity for that criticism which an arbitrary government needs as much as it dreads, is thus taken from a jurisdiction in which the removal as well as the appointment of the judges may be influenced by a party in the suit, and is submitted to the review of our highest court.

At the moment of writing only partial report has been made of the examination into the conditions of the wreck of the *Maine*. This report, so far as it goes, justifies the assumption, based upon evidence excluded from the United States Naval Court of Inquiry convened on board the United States Light-house tender *Mangrove*, February 21, 1898, and upon a careful study of the evidence which was admitted, and upon the report of the Spanish Naval Board of Inquiry, dated March 22, 1898,—that the cause of the explosion was internal. The upward thrust was found to be of such a character and of such an extent that it could not have been caused by a highly concentrated explosive, and instead of attributing it to the obvious cause—the reflex action of the internal explosion after it had burst open the bottom of the vessel,—the Board of Examiners is driven to the explanation, as in pursuance of a foregone conclusion, that the conditions implied an external explosion,—but only such as could have been produced by a mine of a size, the emplacement of which in Havana harbor would have

required so much time and such a quantity of labor as must have challenged attention.

The President of the United States owed his election to the Roman Catholic voters, to whom he appealed during his campaign, before religious organizations of their communion at every possible opportunity, representing himself, by his advocacy of the purchase of the friar lands and by many other alleged benefits, to be the friend and protector of that great Christian body. It is interesting to observe that both in private and in public the tone of those who represent it has changed. The large element therein, composed of Irish Americans, passionate lovers of liberty and nationalism, have discovered that the President is making a worse use of the friar lands than their former owners could possibly have done, in the spoliation of the Filipinos through sales to the non-resident exploiter. The Hierarchy recognizes that the chances of prosperity of the Church would be far more certainly assured in an independent state free to all religions, which is the Filipino program; when the ownership of the United States would no longer imply the activities of enormously subsidized Protestant missions preying upon their flock. In a recent address to the clergy and laity of the archdiocese of Manila, Archbishop Harty says, in warning his people against the Young Men's Christian Association:

"I am bound by the duties of my office to call your attention to a seductive method adopted for the spread of Protestantism in the Philippines. In the last ten or twelve years, as you are aware, various prominent American Protestant sects have apportioned among themselves distinct spheres of propagandism in these Islands; a division of territory having been resorted to for the purpose of concealing from Filipinos the spectacle, presented in the United States and elsewhere, of religious discord among themselves.

\* \* \* \* \*

In view of the foregoing, it seems hardly necessary to point out the danger of the Y. M. C. A. to our Catholic youth, especially to young Filipinos, who have little experience of heretical sects. In many cases, these youths are apt to be unsufficiently grounded in a knowledge of the Catholic religion to be able to resist the onset of error and allurements

\* \* \* \* \*

They will be subjected to both open and covert attacks made on their religion by Protestant ministers."

## CONCLUSION.

May the Secretary be allowed to say a personal word or two in conclusion, addressing those friends who have so patiently and steadfastly lined up here year after year at our annual meetings, and with whom he has come in contact all along as they carried on the work by individual co-operation and generous contributions?

Now that our sympathies are no longer aroused and our emotions excited by "Marked Severities," by the "Water Cure" or by "Reconcentration," it is very probable that the evidence of economic abuses, of grave defects in Philippine administration, of social discontent and of the deep but ever reverberating demand for independence may fall on deaf or indifferent ears, even among ourselves.

Our cause must not be allowed to become merely legal and constitutional. We must keep, therefore, fresh in our memories the old motto, "Criminal Aggression." We must not forget for a moment, in the discussion of details or the promotion of official investigation into existing conditions, that at the bottom of the whole matter lies a crime, the crime which has lain for thirteen years against the United States, in the effort, however disguised, to build up a permanent colony in the archipelago,—and against the Filipinos, in the effort to rob them of all hope of independence through the exploitation of their lands. With whatever personal feelings we might regard those who are laboring according to their light for the accomplishment of this wickedness, to us the light that is in them is darkness. The Almighty Ruler of the universe, with perfect knowledge, possesses and exercises the attribute of perfect charity. Men, with their limited knowledge, must judge their fellow-men by their public acts and may not and can not in ordinary affairs take account of compensating private virtues. It is necessary for us to revive and keep clearly in mind the fact that we are fighting, not as one that beateth the air, but that we are in arms against principalities and powers, against those in high places who are engaged in carrying out a policy of criminal aggression.

For thirteen years, to make use of the image of Senator Hoar, "the imperishable canvas which delineates the scene when the Declaration of Independence was presented by Jefferson to the solemn sitting over which Hancock presided at the birth of our new nation, has been turned to



the wall, and in place of the inscription upon the scroll, we have taught ourselves to read: 'Governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed,—some of them. Men are created equal,—some of them. Taxation and representation go together,—for us, not for every man. Life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness are held in the Philippine Islands at our will, and not at the will of the people.' ”

Whatever may be the changes in the personality of the League, the Secretary believes with all his heart that the League itself will survive to witness the reversal of the picture, to read upon the scroll once more the immortal words which we have so long forgotten.

ERVING WINSLOW, Secretary.

# REPORT OF THE TREASURER.

## The Anti-Imperialist League, In Account With

DAVID G. HASKINS, Jr., *Treasurer.*

*Dr.*

To amounts expended from November 27, 1910,  
to December 30, 1911.

For Postage, Express, Messengers . . . .	\$1024.85
" Stationery, Telephone, Telegraph . . . .	288.47
" Typewriting, Supplies, etc. . . . .	626.25
" Printing and Newspapers . . . . .	138.82
" Meetings . . . . .	40.80
" Office Rent . . . . .	326.38
" Hon. J. H. Ralston, services as attorney for League at congressional investiga- tion of dealings in Philippine lands	500.00
" Sundries . . . . .	14.60
" Balance to new account . . . . .	106.66
	<hr/>
	\$3,066.83

*Cr.*

By balance on hand, November 26, 1910 . . .	\$100.06
" Contributions . . . . .	1382.00
" " in Response to Special Appeals . . .	788.00
" Annual Subscriptions . . . . .	785.51
" Membership and Lunch Fees . . . . .	10.60
" Interest, New England Trust Co. . . . .	.66

---

\$3,066.83

E. and O. E.,

DAVID G. HASKINS, Jr., *Treasurer.*

Boston, January 8, 1912.

I hereby certify that I have audited the accounts of David G. Haskins, Jr., as Treasurer of the Anti-Imperialist League, for the period beginning November 26, 1910, and ending December 30, 1911, and have found them correctly cast and properly vouched, and find that he has a cash balance on hand of \$106.66.

FRANCIS A. OSBORN.

Again your Treasurer has the happiness of looking in the faces of some of the devoted men and women of the League, and of thanking them, and many others who are not here, for their generous and untiring devotion to the great cause to which we have all given ourselves. The pure and unselfish patriotism of these peaceful soldiers who are fighting so resolutely for liberty and justice is inspiring. The old American ideals of the Declaration of Independence still shine brightly and vitally in their hearts and souls.

Who could ever despair, even in the darkest hour, who was privileged to read such messages as this?

"I am past 80, and am quite sick now. When I get better, I will cast around and see what I can do."

Or this, enclosing one dollar: "I am 85 years old, with my left side paralyzed, and in very limited circumstances; yet I consider the work of the League sacred and second to no other. May the God of truth and of eternal justice bless the Anti-Imperialist League."

Or this: "If you could see the hearts of us old ministers, abolition preachers to the slaveholders, where, of course, penitentiary and death were our dangers, you would know how hard it is not to give to your cause. Every night we plead with God, I know, in the spirit, for all the oppressed of earth. Give, we cannot."

But, today, the skies are no longer dark. Our friends are in control of the House of Representatives, and almost, if not quite, masters of the Senate. A pledge of independence to the Filipinos may quite possibly be passed through both branches of Congress, before the close of the present session; and that in itself would be a great achievement. Even if it were vetoed by our present excellent but imperialistic chief magistrate, it requires but little patience to wait a few months longer for the probable election of a Democratic President next November to make such action binding. But the more we hope, the more we must work. Vigilant, constant effort is needed to win success. The probable control of the Government by our friends is not enough. It is our part to see that the issue is kept constantly before their eyes; that the Philippines are not forgotten amongst the problems and the politics of our own country. We need money for our campaign, and lots of it. Money which has always been freely contributed in the darkest hours, and which your Treasurer knows, from the encouraging experience of many years, will not fail us,

amid the high hopes of that which is just beginning. And so, with fresh courage, we take up the work of 1912.

Before concluding his report, the Treasurer deems it proper to refer (partly in the way of a personal explanation) to a very unpleasant happening of the past year. It will perhaps be remembered that in the month of March last copies of a pamphlet containing an open letter from the Hon. Dean C. Worcester, of the Philippine Commission, and Secretary of the Interior for the islands, were sent to many members of this League, accompanied by a typewritten letter from one William Dinwiddie, of New York. As many of the recipients may have wondered how they happened to receive these pamphlets, your Treasurer desires to explain that the names and addresses were obtained from him by an emissary of Secretary Worcester or of Mr. Dinwiddie,—by deliberate deception in the guise of perfect frankness, and by fraudulent pretences, as to the purpose for which they were wanted—which neither Mr. Worcester nor any other gentleman could either authorize or approve; and that it has not been possible definitely to identify the perpetrator of the fraud.

In this pamphlet Secretary Worcester made a violent personal attack on Mr. Winslow, our honored and beloved Secretary, in consequence of two articles written by him and published in the Springfield Republican, relating to the investigation by the Committee on Insular Affairs of the United States House of Representatives, of the administration of public and friar lands, by the Interior Department of the Philippine Government. The first of these letters merely communicated a long abstract of a great mass of evidence as to such administration, which abstract had come into Mr. Winslow's hands. The second was substantially drawn from the brief of Mr. Ralston, the attorney who represented the League at the investigation. Both communications contained many statements of fact concerning which Mr. Winslow had, of course, no personal knowledge, but which he deemed it his duty to give to the public; and it is for alleged mis-statements in these communications, which he claims were unfair to himself and his associates, that Secretary Worcester denounced Mr. Winslow in terms not usual in dealings between gentlemen.

Of course, neither our Secretary nor any of us would willingly do an injustice to any one. A body of men and women, engaged in the defense of American ideals,—a cause too holy



to be served by any but the highest methods,—cannot and will not intentionally wrong their bitterest opponent, however strongly they may denounce his views or actions. The Treasurer is glad to express his own belief that the investigation has disclosed no personal dishonesty or wrong-doing on the part of Secretary Worcester or his associates on the Commission. He realizes that they have at least the sanction of high official legal authority for the course which they undertook to pursue,—a course which this League has strenuously opposed as contrary to the organic act of Congress, to the earnest wishes of the Filipino people, and to the best interests of the young nation. We shall continue to oppose their colonial and exploiting policies at every turn, by every legitimate means, with all our might; but we have no personal quarrel with them.

But however aggrieved Secretary Worcester may have felt himself to be,—your Treasurer is sure that he voices the general sentiment of the League in expressing their keen resentment of the unwarranted and discourteous manner in which he has made his complaint. Their confidence in Mr. Winslow as a man, as an official, and as a Christian gentleman, is too strong; and their appreciation of the wonderful work that he has done and is doing for the cause is too high, to permit them to receive without indignation or to consider seriously such extraordinary accusations against his character, coming from any source whatsoever. As evidence of this fact, one loyal member of the League, on receiving the pamphlet, at once, as his reply, sent an additional contribution to the treasury!

Your Treasurer permits himself to hope that time and more mature reflection may have convinced even Secretary Worcester of the mistake he has made; and enabled him to realize how much his appeal for justice,—especially coming as it does from a man in a high government position,—would have gained in dignity, in propriety, and in effectiveness, if he had not prepared it in the heat of indignation, and if he had omitted all charges of wilful misrepresentation against a high-minded, sincere and patriotic opponent.

DAVID G. HASKINS, JR., Treasurer.

ADDRESS BY THE HON. MANUEL L. QUEZON,  
RESIDENT COMMISSIONER FROM THE  
PHILIPPINE ISLANDS.

Mr. Storey: Ladies and Gentlemen of the Anti-Imperialist League:

I can find no appropriate words to express my pleasure at being with you on this occasion. For the first time I am meeting the members of the Anti-Imperialist League—the League which has been formed in this country to stand by and defend the indisputable right of the Filipino people to be free and independent. Although I am sure you have always been aware of the fact that my people, being grateful, feel deeply and acknowledge fully everything you have done for them, I believe there has never been an opportunity for any Filipino to thank you publicly and solemnly on their behalf. I consider it my greatest honor to be the bearer of the message of love and gratitude of all the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands, each one of whom has forever engraved in his mind and his soul the sacred debt which his country owes to this League.

I shall not try to convince you that the Philippines ought to be free. You need not be shown that your constitution as well as your theory of government are flatly opposed to the subjugation of a foreign people, for whatever reason or pretext. Every one of you belongs to this League because he has inherited from his forefathers the divine doctrine that “all men are created equal, that all governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed.”

I fancy that you want to hear from me what my people say or think of the American occupation in the Philippines. I am just back from a visit to the islands. I have talked with men in all walks of life, and, let me tell you now, calling as witness to my words the Heavenly Father, that they all have the one most urgent desire, to see their Motherland free.

In the old days at Manila, before the outbreak of February 4th, 1899, there was a cartoon gotten up by some young artist

among my people, which represented a Filipino between the shafts of a carromata (which is a kind of two-wheeled buggy), drawing the vehicle just as the Japanese do their jinrickshaws. In the vehicle there was a passenger, and that passenger was an American. If I were able to bring to bear upon the present situation the wonderful talent of some of the greatest artists of the newspaper profession in your country in preparing a cartoon which might convey the apparent attitude of your government toward my people, I would picture the Goddess of Liberty as a benevolent mother, in conversation with her daughter, Miss Filipina, and the conversation would be as follows:

"Mother, may I go out to swim?" "Yes, my darling daughter. Hang your clothes on a hickory limb, but don't go near the water." Then I would have the young girl protest, "Ah, but mother, I will never learn to swim that way," to which the yearning parent should promptly reply, "Oh well, my child, you may wade a little, but your feet must in no case leave the solid ground."

The corner-stone of the present Philippine policy is supposed to be that your administration of the islands is a Governmental Kindergarten, which implies but does not express a promise of ultimate independence.

The greatest good tidings I bring you today, my friends, is that, so far as I am able to learn, we are getting near the end of the present equivocal situation. There are several resolutions pending in the House of Representatives frankly declaring that the Filipino people of right ought to be free and independent, and that it is the purpose of this Government to recognize that independence as soon as a stable government has been established by them. These resolutions also request the President of the United States to open negotiations with such foreign powers as in his opinion should be parties to the compact for the neutralization of the Philippine Islands by international agreement.

When some one of these resolutions comes up for consideration before the House, as I hope it will come soon, with all probability it will receive the support of the solid phalanx of the Democracy and, perhaps, of the progressive elements of the Republican party. In this statement, however, I distinctly disclaim having any authority to speak for the Democratic party in the House. I am simply telling you of the impressions so fraught with hope which I gather at Washington. Furthermore, on account of the uniform attitude of the Democratic

party with regard to the unwisdom of the policy of permanently holding in subjection against their will the people of my beloved country, I feel entirely free to read you the clarion note of hope which not a great while ago was sent me by the honored Speaker of the House of Representatives. On the 13th day of July I received a letter from the Honorable Champ Clark, which letter contains no inhibition against its public use, and reads as follows:

"I have your letter of the 7th instant and the enclosed cartoon from the Sacramento Bee. I fully agree with you that the Philippines should be given their independence guaranteed by the United States and such other powers as are willing to join us. If no other powers are willing to join us, I think our own guarantee would be sufficient, but I am for freeing them regardless of what other powers do.

My friend, Judge Cline of Indiana, has introduced a bill providing for their independence. I think we will pass it next winter, but I doubt very much if the President will sign it, and I doubt if the Senate would pass it, but it is only a question of time until Congress will free them, provided their action is not blocked by executive veto. I am very earnest in my desire to see them given their independence, and I shall use every endeavor to bring it about for their good and our own."

Clearly Mr. Clark is in entire accord with that immortal utterance of the late Grover Cleveland on this subject: "The government of distant and alien peoples should have no permanent place in the purposes of our national life."

Clearly, also, Mr. Clark is in accord with the like contemporaneous attitude of that other illustrious former President of the United States, Benjamin Harrison. While the distinguished senior Senator from your state, Mr. Lodge, was declaring, at the Philadelphia Convention of 1900, "We make no hypocritical pretense of being interested in the Philippines solely on account of others. We believe in trade expansion"; and while shortly previous, the Hon. Frank A. Vanderlip, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury at that time, now president of the National City Bank of New York, was saying, in effect, in the Century Magazine for August, 1898, apparently with the approval of the McKinley Administration, with regard to the cardinal tenets of Washington's Farewell Address and the corollary tenets of the Monroe Doctrine, "We suddenly realize that some of our most revered political maxims have lost their force, henceforward our progress is to be regulated by the



mainspring of commercialism";—while, I repeat, these gentlemen were temporarily beguiling your nation from its truest and wisest course in search of over-seas dominion and the Almighty Dollar, former President Benjamin Harrison said in the North American Review, in effect, "God forbid that the Ultimate Consumer as a goal should be the sole lamp by which our feet are to be guided."

I have seen a letter written not a great while ago, signed by the Honorable William Jennings Bryan, in which he says to the addressee, "I am not clear as to the necessity for fixing a date (when the Philippines shall be independent). If the members of the party deem that the wiser course, I am ready, so far as I am concerned, to defer to their wishes." But whatever differences there may be as to the wisdom of fixing a specific date for doing by us what you did by Cuba, there can be no possible escape, upon the part of any man capable of thinking honestly with himself, from the proposition that there should be, in any legislation on this subject with regard to the Philippines, some indication of a time limit.

The supreme virtue of the resolutions above referred to is that it causes this great republic at once to execute what military men call a "right face," turns you squarely at right angles with the sinister direction in which some Americans were looking in 1898 with dreams of imperial domain throughout the globe, and faces you again on the right road toward the realization of your manifest destiny. That manifest destiny, if I have rightly caught the sentiment of your people, is as the special guardians of the Ark of the Covenant of a certain eternal truth, to wit, that government of one people by another without the consent of the governed is fraught with inevitable injustice, and with inherent peril to both. Of course, I do not forget the ignorant and unintentionally cruel imputation that my people are not a people, but a "jumble of heterogeneous semi-civilized tribes." Suffice it for me to leave that branch of the matter after first reminding you of your own immigration laws, and the resultant showings made by the tables of your Census, and then reading to you the following extract from the American Census of the Philippine Islands. "As compared with the schedules of the Twelfth Census of the United States, those of the Philippine Census are somewhat similar, the differences being due mainly to the more homogeneous character of the population of the Philippine

Islands;" \*also the following from the same publication of your government, the Philippine Census, Volume I, Page 447: "A town in the Cagayan Valley presents the same style of architecture, the same surrounding barrios, \*\*has the same kind of stores and similarly dressed people, as a Christian municipality of the Island of Mindanao"; and finally to certain language used before the Senate Committee of 1902 by Mr. Taft. It is because Colonel Roosevelt said in his letter accepting the nomination for the Vice-Presidency in 1900, "to turn over Luzon to Aguinaldo would be like turning over an Apache reservation to some local chief," that I now desire to place before you in contrast therewith the language of Mr. Taft to the Senate Committee of 1902. Said Governor Taft to that Committee:

"While it is true that there are a number of Christian tribes, so-called, that speak different languages, there is a homogeneity in the people in appearance, in habits, and in many avenues of thought. To begin with, they are all Catholics."\*\*\*

To elaborate but for a moment upon the picture of my people thus drawn by President Taft, which is, in connection with other conceded facts I shall later present, in effect, an admission that you are now holding in grievous economic bondage a homogeneous civilized Christian people, let me quote again from the American Census of the Philippines of 1903 to show you how small a figure our wild tribes cut in the political mathematics of the equation with which we are dealing. That Census gives as the total population of the Philippine Islands, 7,635,426 people (Volume II, Page 15). Of that it states that the civilized total is 6,987,686. The total of all the uncivilized people of my country, the wild tribes in the mountains, is, according to the same high authority, your own census, 647,740. Roughly speaking therefore, in the light of what has just been said, substantiated as it is in an official way, I may say, with certainty of immediate acceptance of the proposition by any candid mind, that my people are today, according to your own showing, not only a homogeneous seven millions of Christians, but the only Christian people in Eastern Asia. Our struggle for independence against overwhelming odds became, before it

\*Philippine Census, Vol. II, p. 9.

\*\*Suburban settlements or rural hamlets.

\*\*\*Hearings on affairs in the Philippine Islands," Senate Document 331, pt. 1, p. 50 (1902).

was over, one of the bitterest wars in history, ending with a spectacle of a bleeding and prostrate people, certainly not more anxious for alien domination than they were at the beginning of the struggle. We were not all thoroughly well acquainted with each other, throughout the length and breadth of the archipelago, at the beginning of that struggle. But we became so before it was over. We were naturally welded into conscious unity by the common aspirations which prompted the resistance, and the common suffering and sacrifice incident thereto. It would be extremely ungracious for me, before any American audience, to refer to the late war, except for a purpose wholly foreign to any profitless revival of the darker side of the picture. The war itself rendered certain the only point which during its progress was considered at all doubtful by the chairman of the first Philippine Commission, President Schurman, then and now President of Cornell University. That distinguished publicist had some doubts, originally, while he was among us, with regard to the oneness of the people of the islands. However, he himself has since intimated in no uncertain terms that while he had not revisited the islands since his official sojourn there in 1899, yet he had no doubt that the bending of the energies of the whole seven millions of us to what we considered a defense of our rights, made us indubitably one people.

Since the war, we have come to learn, through our dealings with the Americans in the islands, and our study of the state papers and public utterances of your public men, that the situation at Manila was not in the least understood in the United States at the time of the outbreak of the war, and that if it had been, the war would never have occurred. Moreover, my people now clearly understand the difficulties you had to contend with in the making up of your verdict and the total inaptitude of your governmental machinery for correctly ascertaining at the critical moment the real will of your people. I believe I may say without fear of contradiction that I have many friends among the Americans in the Philippine Islands. Through them and the research prompted by conversation with them, I now understand the genesis of the war from the American standpoint, and how it was regarded by large numbers of your people. Benevolent assimilation of an unconsenting people is a proposition too obviously paradoxical to need refutation, and while the impossibility of making Yankees out of an Asiatic people has grown clearer to all concerned with

the slow passage of the years, in other words, while the impossibility of assimilation has thus grown clearer every day since the American occupation began, yet side by side with this ever-increasingly obvious fact, the genuine benevolence of the real feelings of your people toward my own has come to be recognized by the latter as a fact beyond dispute.

With this admission, which I freely make in the interest both of truth and friendship, it would seem fair to call your attention to another aspect of the case. The original objection in this country to the acquisition of my own, was what the Imperialists of 1898 called a purely theoretical or academic one, a mere dilettante, doctrinaire, oratorical repetition of a worn-out formula, namely that all governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. The reply to that objection, to state it in the form least susceptible of denial, was that as no means then existed for ascertaining with certainty the wishes of the Filipino people, therefore no one was in a position to affirm that the taking of the islands was contrary to the wishes of the governed. The relations between victor and vanquished at the end of the late war certainly set at rest forever the idea that the great majority of the Filipino people were freely willing to accept a government by any foreign nation. Beside the American fundamental principle making the consent of the governed the sole source of just governmental power over them, the other most familiar tenet of the founders of your great republic was that taxation without representation, by the imposition of tariff taxes under laws framed by a legislature in which they were not represented, was unrighteous, and good cause for revolt. Upon that proposition you firmly appealed, in respectful terms, to the general conscience of mankind, and thereupon ensued the war for independence out of which this mighty republic was formed. Speaking by authority, as the representative of my people, I may and should and do say, that we all well understand at present that our sole hope of ultimate assured permanent independence as a nation lies in the friendly offices of this great government. Not otherwise does any man among us ever dream of a place for our country, however modest, in the concert of free nations. Therefore it is that I lift my voice throughout this fair free country, whenever opportunity offers itself, without fear of misconstruction of my motives, in protest against unjust tariff legislation. I am an "insurgent" today, not in the old sinister



sense, but in the same sense that I believe the majority of the people of this country are this very hour insurgents, against legislation now weighing heavy upon my people, which enriches the few at the expense of the many.

Under the Act of Congress of August 5, 1909, the general export tax imposed in the Philippine Islands on our hemp does not apply to exports brought to the United States. Under that act the Hemp Trust has cornered the market on Philippine hemp, and the hemp buyers now dictate to the Philippine farmer the price or terms on which he must sell his hemp, the market price it will bring out there. The result has been that today our farmers get for their hemp just one-half of what they got a few years ago. Hemp is our chief staple. Hemp is to us what cotton is to the South. So that the injustice of the existing legislation on this subject is precisely the same as if Congress should pass laws whose operation resulted directly in reducing by one-half the amount of money annually brought into your country by the cotton crop of the South. I have long been endeavoring, without success, to get this important legislation repealed. Referring to this act, the great Democratic leader, Mr. Underwood, said in the debate which preceded its enactment, "If we enact this law, we write in the statute books for the Philippine Islands legislation that is little short of barbarism, legislation that no government in the civilized world, except Turkey and Russia and other second-class nations, countenances today."

Such is the condition to which legislation gotten through Congress by special interests in this country has brought my people. Those special interests will cease to exploit us further, when once is written upon the statute books the declaration they are so determined to prevent, namely, a declaration of the purpose of this government, not to keep us forever at the mercy of such people, but to deliver us from the economic shackles they are bent on keeping forever riveted upon us.

Such a declaration would treat us as a Christian people, loving one another among ourselves, and sure to legislate better for ourselves than others can for us. How clearly right President Taft was and how absolutely he forgot about the Philippines for the moment when, in his message to Congress vetoing the New Mexico and Arizona statehood bill, he said concerning the preferability of popular government to any other, "In the long run each class of individuals is apt to

secure better provision for themselves through their own voice in government than through the altruism of others, however intelligent and philanthropic."

The longer I remain in Washington, the more certain I become that your people will soon be satisfied that my beloved friend, Senor Osmena, Speaker of the Philippine Assembly, and the rest of my compatriots, would not in fact proceed to cut each other's throats in a mad scramble for the offices, in the event that we were permitted to go about the setting up of a government intended to be ultimately independent. There is no danger whatsoever on that score.

In discussing the matter of ultimate independence for the Philippines, I am generally asked to give a satisfactory answer to the question, "If we give the Filipinos their independence, what is to prevent their being annexed on the first pretext by some one of the over-crowded land-hungry monarchs of the world?" If any one of the resolutions above mentioned were adopted by the Congress of the United States and approved by the President, and if the President, in pursuance of that resolution, should conclude successful negotiations with the other great powers whereby they would bind themselves not to seize our territory after you should ultimately decide to allow us to attend to our own affairs, the mutual jealousy of the powers would be an absolute certain guarantee that such treaties would be respected by all. In such a state of the case the Philippines would become as permanently neutral territory in Asiatic politics as Switzerland is in European politics. The idea of international neutralization is not without pride of ancestry or hope of posterity. It was born out of the downfall of Napoleon I. The Treaty of Paris of 1815 declared that:

"The neutrality and inviolability of Switzerland, as well as its independence of outside influences, is in conformity with the true interests of European politics."

The Congress of Vienna, held afterwards in the same year, at which there were present, besides the various monarchs, such men as Wellington, Talleyrand and Metternich, solemnly and finally reiterated that declaration. Would not, "the neutrality and inviolability" of the Philippines be gladly acceded to by the great Powers as being "in conformity with the true interests of European politics," and Asiatic politics as well?

Says M. De Martens, in an article in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*:

"Respect for the perpetual neutrality of Switzerland has now taken such lodgment in the conscience of the civilized nations of Europe that its violation would inevitably provoke a storm of indignation."

At present the Philippines are a potential Apple of Discord in the Pacific. The policy of indefinite retention by you, with undeclared intention, leaves everybody guessing, including yourselves.

Now is the accepted time, while the horizon of the future is absolutely cloudless, to ask Japan to sign a treaty agreeing to the neutralization of the Philippine Islands. By her answer she will show her hand.

There is no reason why the Powers would object to converting the Philippines into permanently neutral territory, by the same kind of an agreement that protects Switzerland.

Once sure of a foothold in the international law of the twentieth century, neutralization will represent a mighty stride in the direction of disarmament and arbitration. The spectacle of the smaller nations devoting themselves, in assured perpetual tranquility, to the development of their economic, physical and intellectual resources, submitting their differences, if any, to the Hague tribunal, will be a stronger argument for restriction of armaments, and like submission to arbitration of their differences by the Great Powers, than all the diplomatic discussions that could be had from now till doomsday.

To resume: the great need of the hour is to give the Philippine Islands their independence as soon as practicable.

The clans representing the American investments in the islands, whose set determination naturally is that my country shall never have its independence, are now foregathering at Washington, and hovering about the halls of Congress with the stale pretense that they too are in favor of ultimate independence. But try as you may to corner them, you find them as elusive as the proverbial eel, in the matter of consenting for the law-making power of the government to place in writing upon the statute books of this nation the very promise they pretend to favor. If I knew that this speech here today were to be my last public utterance in behalf of the holy

cause of Philippine independence of which I am the accredited representative of my people on the floor of the House of Representatives, I would say:

“This League—your League—has been formed under the inspiration and is maintained under the guidance of Divine Providence. Your cause, the cause of Liberty, is a Divine cause; you are sure to win, because God is invincible.”



## ADDRESS OF PRESIDENT MOORFIELD STOREY.

Ladies and Gentlemen of the Anti-Imperialist League:

I observed in the Transcript the other day a long article in praise of Governor-General Forbes, and of the American Administration in the Philippine Islands. The writer in substance said that before Mr. Forbes came to the islands at all, we had spent a large sum in education, another large sum in better sanitary regulations, another large sum in building roads, and other sums in various public improvements, winding up his statement with a congratulatory paragraph in praise apparently of our altruism.

As a matter of fact "we," if by "we" is meant the American people, have not spent one dollar for any of these purposes. Not one cent has come from taxes taken from the people of the United States for sanitation, roads, schools, or any other of these public objects. We have sent officials to the Philippine Islands, have paid them large salaries out of the money raised by taxing the Filipino people, and have authorized them to spend money also raised by taxing the Filipino people. It is the Filipinos who have paid for all the public improvements that have been made by our officials. The taxpayers of the United States have paid for the support of the army, have paid very large sums for additional naval forces, and perhaps for fortifications. In various ways our expenses have been increased, but we have not spent our money for the purposes named by the writer.

Now this does not seem to me to be altruism. If I, dissatisfied with the manner in which Mr. John D. Rockefeller spends his income, were to take charge of his property by force, to pay myself a large salary out of his income, to build myself a handsome house, provide myself with every convenience of life at his expense, and then say that the plumbing in his house was not satisfactory and have it re-organized, lay out new roads through his parks, hang new and expensive pictures on his walls, enlarge his gifts to public charities, and, in short, spend his income in the way in which I thought he

ought to spend it, paying myself as I have said liberally for my services, I should not consider that in so doing I was an altruist, and yet that, in my judgment, is the altruism which the United States has shown in the Philippine Islands. We should define our terms when we discuss this subject and have a distinct understanding of what altruism means when it is used by those who defend our policy in these islands.

The year which has passed since our last annual meeting has been a year of progress, and I will endeavor briefly to recapitulate what has occurred which concerns our cause.

In my address last year I called attention to the charge that the public lands in the Philippine Islands had been sold or leased in violation of law, and expressed the hope that the investigation of the charge which had been ordered by the House of Representatives would be unsparingly thorough. Though conducted by very busy men during the short session of Congress which necessarily curtailed the time that could be given, it was sufficient to develop the main facts, and to show that the policy adopted by the United States when the Organic Act of July 1, 1902, was passed, has been reversed by the Philippine Commission in dealing with the friar lands, and to a less extent with other public lands.

No one can read the Organic Act and study the debates while it was under consideration in Congress without recognizing that the act was drawn to prevent the exploitation of the islands by Americans or other foreigners.

Thus by section 12 "all the property rights" acquired by the United States in the Philippine Islands through the treaty with Spain are "placed under the control of the Government of said islands to be administered for the benefit of the inhabitants thereof, except as provided in this act."

The following sections, 13 to 16, inclusive, give the Government of the islands certain powers over the public lands. In substance they provide for the separation of mineral and timber lands from other public land (Sec. 13); they gave "persons" who had acquired an inchoate title to any public lands under Spanish law an opportunity to perfect their title; they authorize the Philippine Commission to issue a patent for not more than sixteen hectares of public land to any "native of said islands" who could show actual occupancy of the land before the date of the protocol with Spain (Sect. 14); they empower the Philippine Government "subject to the provisions of this act and except as herein provided" to make rules for the sale, lease or dis-

position of any public lands, except timber and mineral lands, and to provide for the granting or sale and conveyance of public land not timber nor mineral "to actual occupants and settlers and *other citizens of said islands*," not exceeding sixteen hectares to any one person, and not more than 1,024 hectares to any corporation or association of persons, "conditioned upon actual occupancy, improvement and cultivation of the premises sold for a period of not less than five years, during which time the purchaser or grantee can not alienate or encumber said land or the title thereto" (Secs. 13, 15).

"Citizens of said islands" are persons who were inhabitants of those islands continuing to reside therein who were Spanish subjects on April 11, 1899, and their children born thereafter, except such as elected to remain subjects of Spain (Sec. 4). This definition excludes American citizens.

Under these provisions of law no public land could be sold to citizens of the United States, except perhaps such, if any, as had acquired inchoate title to land under Spanish law. The provision for perfecting title applies to "persons," the others are in terms limited to "any native of said islands" to "actual occupants and settlers and *other citizens of said islands*," in neither of which classes can there be any American citizen, except a possible "native" American.

The difference of language in the different sections is very significant, and it is clear that the terms were selected with care, a conclusion which is confirmed by the provision in section 20, that "all valuable mineral deposits in public lands in the Philippine Islands . . . are hereby declared to be free and open" with the land in which they are found "to occupation and purchase by *citizens of the United States* or of said islands," language which is emphasized by the provisions in section 53.

It is also to be observed that the Government is forbidden to grant or sell any public land "in the possession or occupancy of any native of the Philippine Islands . . . to any other person without the consent thereto of said prior occupant or settler first obtained," the possessor's title however being good only for sixteen hectares (Sec. 16).

In the same act, after the provisions about mineral lands which are contained in sections 20 to 62, came the sections which authorize the purchase and sale of the so-called "friar lands," and which for the avowed purpose of promoting "the peace and welfare of the people of the Philippine Islands"

authorize the Philippine Government to acquire, hold and convey any lands which at the date of the protocol with Spain "were owned or held by associations, corporations, communities, religious orders or private individuals in such large tracts or parcels, and in such manner as in the opinion of the commission injuriously to affect" such peace and welfare.

So far as the language of the act defines its purpose, it was not the religion of the owner, nor the fact that the land was held by associations which was aimed at, but the size of the holding, for the law extended to large tracts held by individuals as well as by religious orders. No man in public life would have ventured, or will venture now to say that religious orders were more dangerous owners than any other combination of non-resident proprietors, or than the great combinations which we call "trusts," because, perhaps, we cannot trust them.

It is difficult to conceive any reason why, in a statute which was carefully framed to prevent exploitation, Congress should intentionally have left these large and peculiarly valuable estates to be exploited; that finding these especial holdings a menace to the public peace because the tenants who labored upon them could not acquire the land which they cultivated, Congress should have left the door open for their acquisition by new owners of like character in every essential respect with the old; and any such theory would seem to be contradicted absolutely by the express insertion of the words, "Subject to the limitations and conditions provided for in this act," in every grant of power, especially as the record shows that these words were inserted by amendment expressly to prevent exploitation.

In pursuance of the same policy, no corporation was permitted to hold any real estate, "except such as may be reasonably necessary to enable it to carry out the purposes for which it is created." Every corporation authorized to engage in agriculture was restricted "to the ownership and control of not to exceed 1,024 hectares of land, and it was made "unlawful for any member of a corporation engaged in agriculture or mining, or for any corporation organized for any purpose except irrigation, to be in anywise interested in any other corporation engaged in agriculture or in mining." This is made to apply to corporations not organized in the islands and doing business therein (Sect. 75).

Such were the carefully drawn provisions of the Organic Act, and with their purpose and supposed effect no one was



more familiar than Senator Lodge, who was in charge of the measure while it was under discussion in the Senate. His understanding was thus stated:

"The second object of the bill is to help the development of the islands; and yet, as the committee felt, to help that development only by taking the utmost pains that there should be no opportunity given for undue or selfish exploitation. The opponents of this legislation have dwelt almost continuously—when they have spoken on this bill—on the point that it is intended to open the islands to exploiters, to syndicates, and to carpet-baggers. . . . But these exploiters, these syndicates, these carpet-baggers, who march back and forth through the speeches of Democratic Senators like the scene-shifter's army, have as little reality as the air-drawn dagger of Macbeth."

\* \* \* \* \*

"I have had many gentlemen come to me who desire to invest money in the Philippine Islands who say that the bill is so drawn that it is impossible for capital to go in there to any large amount."

For several years the Commission complained that the limitations of the act were too severe, and that the amount of land which a corporation could hold should be increased, so that they also recognized its limitations.

Some reliance has been placed upon the laws passed later by the Philippine Commission which were framed on the theory that the friar lands, so-called, could be sold in larger quantities than those fixed by the Organic Act, and which, though reported to Congress, were never disapproved, but this contention is met by the Organic Act itself, by which the powers of the Commission are expressly made "subject to the provisions of" (Secs. 13 and 15), or "subject to the limitations and conditions prescribed in" that act. (Secs. 63, 65.)

The contention that the Commission could alter the Organic Law by any act of its own, reported to and not disapproved by Congress, was abandoned at the hearing before the Investigating Committee. This was expressly stated by Commissioner Worcester, who apparently represented the Commission before the House Committee. I quote his testimony:

"Mr. Jones. It was contended here before the committee a day or two ago that if the Legislature of the Philippines passed a law which seemed to contravene the provisions of the Organic Act, and that law was submitted to the President and Congress and not disposed of, that it would thereby be-

come a valid act. That was contended here before the committee. I wanted to know if that was your view.

Mr. Worcester. That would not be my view at all, unless Congress, in the Organic Act, specifically authorized that procedure for amending the act itself, and I do not understand that this was done.

Mr. Worcester. My view would be that the Philippine Commission would be powerless to amend any act of Congress, but that it might, under the authority of Congress, legislate on any subject which Congress might authorize. We have always held that our power comes from Congress, and that we can not enact a law that we are not entitled to pass under that authority, and then by the mere fact that our action may be overlooked at this end of the line have such an act become a law."

It is admitted that the Organic Act has never been amended by Congress, and nothing that this act forbids can therefore be legal, whatever laws the Philippine Commission may have passed. It is clear therefore that the policy adopted by Congress in 1902 still stands, and that the restrictions intended to secure the Philippines for the Filipinos have never been relaxed.

It was possible to argue, and it was argued when the Organic Act was passed, that the islands needed capital, and that it was for the interests of the Filipino people that Americans and foreigners should buy and occupy large tracts of land, thus affording employment for the natives. This argument has again and again been pressed upon the attention of Congress, but the policy adopted at the outset has never been changed by Congress, and it is the duty of those who are charged with the government of the islands to respect and execute this policy.

That men may question the wisdom of the policy, as men differ as to the wisdom of conservation, may be conceded, and I presented the opposing views at some length a year ago, pointing out that modern thought was against exploitation and in favor of conservation. It is not, however, an open question, so long as the Organic Act remains unchanged, whether this policy shall be carried out and the law obeyed.

Unhappily the Commissioners have disagreed with Congress, and are strongly opposed to the policy which it adopted.

Immediately after the passage of the Organic Act the Commission passed regulations for the sale of the friar lands which recognized and affirmed the limitations of the act, thus showing

that it then received from the Commission the construction which I have placed upon it, and which seemed then to everybody the true construction. After urging a change in the Organic Act for several years, the Commission changed their statute so far as the friar lands was concerned, and thereafter seem to have proceeded on the assumption that it was their act and not the act of Congress which imposed the limitations.

Commissioner Worcester states with some heat his position in regard to the friar estate in his report to the Governor-General, appended to the report of the latter dated August 30, 1910, from which I quote the following passages:

"We did not consult with the Washington officials relative to the policy to be pursued in disposing of large tracts of unoccupied land on any of the friar estates, nor did we ever receive any intimation as to their views in regard to the matter. If the United States officials above named, or any of them, had any plan in mind relative to the disposition of unoccupied friar lands, or if they had any plan relative to the disposition of occupied lands in any other way than by selling them to the occupants, then they studiously refrained from communicating such plan or plans to either of the two persons who alone could carry them out. Responsibility for the policy pursued must rest squarely on the Director of Lands and on me, as Secretary of the Interior. Since the Director of Lands is my subordinate, the entire burden should in reality rest upon me, and I very willingly assume it." He takes the whole responsibility for what has been done.

"I have already stated that all sales of friar lands have been made by the Director of Lands and myself, acting upon our own initiative, and that the only action taken in the premises by the Washington authorities was such as temporarily to delay, but ultimately to approve, the sale of the San Jose estate. This subject need not be further discussed."

Dealing with the San Jose estate, he states his position thus:

"It had long been clearly realized that there was no hope of selling this estate in small parcels. It was without occupants. In its immediate vicinity are large areas of thinly populated rich agricultural lands which can be purchased or leased upon easier and better terms. The only possible consideration which could influence anyone to buy, under such conditions, friar lands at the relatively high price fixed by law, was the fact that they could be purchased in large tracts. Both the Director of Lands and I myself had for a long time made every effort

to interest possible purchasers. Indeed, one possible purchaser had been persuaded to visit the estate in the hope that he might buy."

No thought of taking the opinion of high legal authority as to the legality of such sales occurred to them, until a doubt as to their power was raised by the purchasers whom they endeavored to interest. Mr. Worcester so states:

"An effort was at once made to interest Messrs. Poole and Prentiss in the San Jose estate. They were brought to my office and were informed by me of the opinion rendered by the law officer of the Bureau of Lands, and were further told that we were ready to sell the San Jose estate in parcels of any desired size to responsible persons, and to guarantee title. They stated that they would look into the matter, but that in the event they should decide to purchase, they would desire confirmation of title by their attorneys, in view of the question as to whether section 65 of the Organic Act had made the limitations imposed in section 15 thereof, relative to the sale of public lands to individuals, applicable to friar lands. As this question had been raised, it seemed best that we ourselves should obtain a legal opinion on it, and accordingly, on October 12, 1909, the Director of Lands requested such an opinion of the Attorney-General for the Philippine Islands. This opinion is appended hereto as Exhibit A."

It is rather amusing to see the manner in which this opinion was requested. The letter of Mr. Sleeper, the Director of Lands to the Attorney-General, appears on page 700 of the testimony taken at the hearings before the House Committee. The letter begins thus:

"The Attorney-General, Manila.

Sir: I have the honor to request your opinion on the following question:

Has the director of Lands authority to sell to an individual, or an individual to purchase from the Government, vacant and unoccupied lands constituting a portion of the friar-lands purchase, without a restriction as to area. This question arises from an inquiry which was made in the United States as to the purchase of the San Jose de Mindoro estate by an individual, and it is understood that at the Bureau of Insular Affairs an opinion was offered that an individual could not purchase more than sixteen hectares of unoccupied friar lands. The opinion of this office has been as follows:"



Then follows a long argument in favor of the power to sell, concluding:

"I am of the opinion that the Director of Lands may sell, and an individual may acquire, vacant and unoccupied friar lands without any restriction as to area.

Inasmuch as there are now several parties considering the purchase of the San Jose de Mindoro estate, it is important that an opinion be rendered as soon as possible on this question."

It is not strange that the Solicitor-General, in reply to a letter thus couched, sustained the wishes of the Commission, and that the Attorney-General concurred. They were asked not to consider an open question, but in effect to support a policy which the Commission had adopted and to confirm its opinion.

It is interesting to examine, however, this paragraph of the opinion which was given. These officers stated the question thus:

"The question submitted seems to involve a determination of whether or not the so-called friar lands, in making sales thereof, are to be treated as public lands, so as to make applicable thereto the restrictions of the public-land act as to the area which may be sold to an individual."

And after an elaborate argument to prove that the friar lands were private property and not public land, they conclude:

"It therefore clearly appears that the restrictions of the public-land act with reference to the amount of public land which may be sold to an individual, or to a corporation or like association of persons, are not applicable in the sale of the friar lands; but that the only restrictions with reference to the sale or other disposition of the friar lands are to be found in the act of Congress of July 1, 1902, providing for the purchase of said lands, and in act No. 1120 and its amendments providing for the administration, lease and sale thereof."

And finally they decide that while, by the provisions of section 75 of the Organic Act, a corporation engaged in agriculture is restricted to the ownership of 1,024 hectares of land, there is no limit whatever on the amount which may be sold to individuals, and presumably to an association of individuals. There is no attempt whatever to deal with the words in sections 63 and 65, "subject to the limitations and conditions prescribed in this act:" it was easier to ignore them. But it is singular that the authorities of the Philippine Islands, knowing that out of

the public lands Congress permitted corporations to acquire 1,024 hectares, and individuals to acquire only sixteen hectares, should have deliberately reversed this policy in the case of the friar lands by restricting corporations to small holdings, and allowing individuals or associations of individuals to buy unlimited quantities. Such a conclusion is so ridiculous as to effectually discredit the opinion of all the lawyers who gave it. If the restriction upon corporations was retained, what conceivable reason can be given for removing it in the case of individuals?

In this connection we quote from the report of the Minority of the Investigating Committee:

"A large number of corporations composed of Government officials and employees have acquired public lands or portions of the friar estates. The Solicitor-General of the Philippine Islands, who rendered an opinion holding that the limitations contained in section 15 of the act of Congress did not apply to the friar lands, is president of one of these concerns, and numerous other officials are at the head of land companies."

Whether he was so interested when he gave his opinion is not stated.

The testimony before the Commission makes it entirely clear that the Commissioners desired to sell at least all of the unappropriated friar lands as fast as they could be sold, in such lots as would tempt purchasers, for the purpose of raising money to meet the debt incurred when the lands were bought, and also because they thought it a favorable chance to bring American and foreign capital into the islands. They also considered it no part of their duty to ascertain who the shareholders of corporations were for the purpose of ascertaining whether the provisions of the act forbidding the same person to be interested in any way in two corporations were observed, taking the ground that if the law were disobeyed it was the duty of the Attorney-General to proceed.

We all remember the rhyme which is often used in political discussion:

"I hear a lion in the lobby roar,  
Say, Mr. Speaker, shall I shut the door,  
Or shall I open it and let him in,  
Then see if we can get him out again."

The Commissioners were willing to adopt the latter alternative. The result was that the enormous San Jose estate was sold to American citizens, and the adjoining estates were sold

to three corporations organized clearly in their interest and substantially by them, they taking the names of persons closely connected with them as stockholders instead of their own. If the laws of Congress can be violated in this way they are dead letters, and if the Commissioners are right in their construction, it is time that the law was changed. It would certainly seem incumbent upon them to see that corporations organized in substantial violation of the law were not enabled to secure a foothold in the islands and control a large amount of land, and as if it were also their duty to look at the substantial facts and not merely at the names. If A, B and C can organize one corporation, and three clerks in their office can organize another, and three other clerks a third, and so on, there is no limit to the amount of land which any set of individuals may acquire in the Philippine Islands. We do not think the laws of Congress can thus be dealt with by those whose duty it is to enforce them.

If the construction of the law which forbids the sale of agricultural lands to any persons who are not "citizens" of the islands is correct, then all the sales which have been made by the Commissioners to themselves, to other officers of the government, to various American citizens and other persons who are not citizens of the islands are invalid, and those persons have acquired no title. Upon this question there has been, so far as I am aware, no opinion expressed by any law officer of the Philippine Islands or of the United States, nor so far as I know has such opinion ever been asked. Until it shall have been decided by a court of last resort it will remain an open question whether on this ground alone any of these titles are valid.

For the sales which have been made of the friar lands the Commissioners cannot be blamed if they believed themselves authorized to make them, since in so doing they are sustained by the opinion of the Attorney-General of the United States. They certainly have the right to proceed in accordance with his advice, and while, as I have before said, I think that advice unsound, and while I think that no one claiming under these conveyances has today any title to the land in excess of the amount fixed in the Organic Act, to wit, sixteen hectares to an individual and 1,024 hectares to a corporation, the Commissioners cannot be criticized for any sales which the Attorney-General of the United States has approved. Until, however, the question has been decided in the courts, the titles which the Commis-

sioners have granted must remain at least of questionable validity.

It is not necessary to recapitulate here the findings of fact made by the Minority of the Investigating Committee, which, in my judgment were amply sustained by the evidence. All the reports should be read by every member of the League. After a recapitulation of the facts the report of the Minority is that "it is difficult to escape the conclusion that the land laws of the Philippines are being evaded in a most shameless manner, even if we are mistaken in our construction of these laws. That the officials whose duty and responsibility it is to administer the public land laws have, at least until recently, entertained doubts as to the legality of the policy pursued by them is evident from the fact that they have so frequently sought and obtained legal opinions with which to fortify their position. In our opinion these doubts should have been resolved in the interest of the citizens of the islands rather than that of the aliens whose purpose it was to exploit the islands. To our minds the law governing the disposition of these lands is so clear that there is no need for any resort to the court in respect to it. If the policy laid down in the act of Congress of July 1, 1902, is a narrow and mistaken one, then Congress should change it. It alone is clothed with the power to do so."

The Minority Committee also speaks of the practice which obtains of selling and leasing public and friar lands to officials of the Philippine Government, and of permitting government officials to stake prospectors to locate mining claims for them, and especially of the lease which was made to Mr. Carpenter which contained very peculiar conditions pledging the officer who represented the government to obtain adequate police protection, and to secure all possible government protection in the construction of highway bridges on and to the lands of the estate. It is clear that the officers charged with governing the Philippine Islands have been and are opposed to the policy which Congress adopted when it passed the Organic Act. Their views are fully presented in the report of the Governor-General to the Secretary of War, dated August 30, 1910. Their arguments are in substance the same which have often been presented in favor of inviting foreign capitalists to make investments in the islands. We have no quarrel with the Commissioners because they disagree with us on this question. They are undoubtedly as sincere in their be-



liefs as we are in ours, but the difference between us is radical, and the conflict is irrepressible. When their argument is analyzed it is apparent that they are looking at the Filipino people as a population of laborers, whose efficiency and productiveness as such will be increased by the modern methods which foreign capital would introduce, and who may be benefited by the greater assurance of steady employment and perhaps higher wages. Their policy will, they claim, make a better and more prosperous labor force to be used by alien employers. It means more and better sugar, tobacco and copra. With equal force it might be argued that it would be better in the Southern States to substitute great corporations employing the negroes and poorer whites as laborers for the system under which the latter cultivate their own farms, too often very poorly. Doubtless the result of such a substitution would be larger crops and more dollars. This we may concede.

The difference between this policy and that which we advocate, and which the United States has adopted in the Philippines and in the Southern States alike, is radical. We aim to produce men, not dollars. We believe that in the long run the best results for any people are secured by giving every man his equal opportunity and letting his success depend upon himself, his own skill and his own industry. We refuse to regard either Filipinos or negroes, or indeed any of our fellow-men merely as laborers to be employed for the profit of others, with incidental advantage to themselves. We insist that they are men, to be given every opportunity and developed as fast and as far as their capacity will permit, but to be developed by themselves. We are ready to help, to advise, to teach as we advised and taught Japan, but we are utterly opposed to the theory that our people may enter the country of another and make them by force adopt our faith, our ideas or our methods, or that we may take their fertile lands and thus take from them the hope of being owners on the pretence that we thus make them more efficient laborers. In a word we would make not sugar, tobacco or cotton, but free and independent men. We would do by them as we would do by ourselves, and as in this great and free country we resist the control of our natural resources, our oil, our coal, our iron, and our meat by combinations of our own countrymen, so in the Philippine Islands must we resist any attempt to vest the control of their fertile lands in the hands of alien capitalists.

For this reason, and also because pledged as this country is

to grant the Filipinos their independence, we would not make it more difficult to keep our pledge by creating interests adverse to the interest of the Filipinos, and sure to oppose their independence. We propose to break the chain which now binds the islands to us, and it is folly, meanwhile, to strengthen the links of that chain, and so make it harder to break.

The essential difference between the two policies ought not to be obscured by personalities, and we are therefore glad that the investigation relieved the officials of the Insular Government from the suspicion of personal dishonesty. This result is a great gain, for it is pleasant to think that the use of official power for personal advantage, so general in the national, state and municipal governments of this country has not prevailed among the high officials of the islands. I have taken occasion before, and I am glad now to repeat my entire confidence in the Governor General. My opposition is to his policy and not to him.

We must especially regret and condemn the attack made by Mr. Worcester on our Secretary. I have been in close relations with him now for many years, and as I have borne my testimony to Governor Forbes, so I bear it with equal pleasure to Mr. Winslow. No man in my time has been more patriotic, more unselfish, more loyal to principle than he. He has given his time, his means, his health and his strength with untiring devotion to the cause of freedom. He has borne indifference, ridicule and obloquy with endless patience, and to him more than to any one else has been due the measure of success which this League has achieved. He is incapable of bearing false witness against any man, and while his zealous opposition to views and practices which Mr. Worcester upheld and justified may have made him warm in argument, it did not justify the exaggeration and distortion of Mr. Worcester's pamphlet. In any controversy between them this League will stand by Mr. Winslow, and will never hesitate to express its confidence in his honor and its gratitude for his long and distinguished service to the cause which we have at heart.

From these personal matters, let us return to the discussion of policies. In my judgment the Commissioners have been so anxious to carry through the policy which they think beneficial that they have not been careful to observe the law under which they live. They have thought certain things desirable as likely to promote the prosperity of the islands. Accustomed to the exercise of very arbitrary power, they did

not stop to scrutinize the law, and the case is only another example of the tendency which in late years has become very common among public officials to do what seems in their eyes good without regard to law. Of this tendency the action of President Roosevelt in Panama was a conspicuous example.

It would be wise for those men who hold office under the Philippine Government not themselves to engage in Philippine speculations, or purchases of public land. It is peculiarly important where an alien race is governing another against its will, ostensibly for the sake of the governed, that the officers who are charged with the responsibility of administering the government should not themselves be under the least personal temptation to construe the law one way or the other, or to make any profit whatever out of their situation. The wife of Caesar should not be even suspected. As these officers believe that the occupation of the United States is to continue for years, they should see that they establish no precedents which will make it possible for any unworthy successors to enrich themselves at the expense of the unhappy people over whom they are placed in authority. If American citizens are unwilling to remain in the Philippine Islands on these terms, they should leave. The United States offers ample opportunity for their industry and activity, but while they remain in office they should be bound by a self-denying ordinance and be content to discharge the duties of their positions and receive the fixed compensation to which they are entitled.

We may well rejoice in the result of the investigation. In the first place, as I have said, because it has cleared up many unpleasant doubts which existed when it began, and has relieved the officials of many unjust suspicions to which their conduct and their silence had exposed them. If the American people were more fully advised as to what the government of the Philippine Islands is doing, if they were kept informed from day to day as to the actions of the Philippine Commission, some of these questions might never have arisen, but so far as the United States is concerned a very dense cloud hangs over the Philippine Islands, and under its shadow much may be done without attracting in the least the attention of the American people. This should not be, but if this investigation leads to the furnishing of fuller information, much good will have been accomplished.

In the second place, we must rejoice because this investigation has shown how far the policy of the United States, in re-

gard to the exploitation of the islands, has been reversed by the construction of the law, and has thereby opened the way to further legislation which shall effectually stop it, if, indeed, it does not go further and invalidate what has been done. It was a satisfaction to know that the Secretary of War agreed that no further sales should be made of the public lands concerning which any question could be raised until Congress could act upon the question, and we sincerely hope that the President will not meanwhile direct that further sales be made, as he has threatened to do in a recent message. We have already protested against this action, and have stated the reasons in our protest. It is unnecessary therefore to repeat them.

We may also rejoice because the investigation has furnished us with further evidence of how difficult it is for one nation to rule another, how impossible even by the plainest words to lay down a law which cannot be evaded. Under every form of government public opinion, and the opinion of men whose votes will tell, is the ultimate force that keeps a government on the right path. This public opinion does not and cannot exist in the Philippine Islands under our present system. The American people will not exercise it because they do not know the facts, and will believe no testimony unless it comes from their own citizens. The Filipinos complain in vain, as they have no *such influence with the government* under which they live as makes their opinion of real weight with that government. Considered as an inferior people,—children who are governed for their good,—it is impossible, as it has been impossible in every other case where a so-called inferior race is controlled by another, for their opinions to control their governors.

We are opposed to the policy of exploitation because we believe in the independence of the islands, and we believe that the property of the Filipino people which we received under the Spanish treaty in trust for them should be returned to them when our temporary occupation is over, unimpaired in value and unfettered by any obligations which will embarrass that people in its development. Their land is not our land, and it should be preserved faithfully for them. Every dollar of capital from America or Europe which finds its way into those islands and is there invested creates an interest against Filipino independence, and no possible advantage to the Filipinos in the way of labor or pecuniary profit or any other material advantage can for a moment be weighed against the loss of



their right to govern themselves. For that reason we must now and always oppose any policy which makes it easy for capital from any source, save the Filipinos themselves, to find a lodgment in the islands. The demands of capital are the source of all the disgraceful exploitation of the inferior races which is now going on the world over, and for which in time the exploiting nations must pay dearly.

We have the right now to expect at the hands of Congress a definite declaration that the United States proposes to grant the Filipinos their independence. The promise of the Democratic party is clear, and I quote from the last national platform:

"We favor an immediate declaration of the nation's purpose to recognize the independence of the Philippine Islands as soon as a stable government can be established, such independence to be guaranteed by us as we guaranteed the independence of Cuba until the neutralization of the islands can be secured by treaty with other powers."

Language cannot be made plainer than this, and this is the last announcement of a purpose to which the Democratic party has for years committed itself. There is no confidence to be placed in men unless this promise is redeemed, and we look to the Democratic party for the declaration which it has promised us. A simple resolution passed by the House, which we believe would be concurred in by the Senate, would relieve the United States from the consequences of what the National Democratic platform well calls "an inexcusable blunder," which has involved us in an enormous expense, brought us weakness instead of strength, and laid our nation open to the charge of violating the fundamental doctrine of self-government. Still better would be a bill providing for the termination of our occupation and surrendering the islands to their people.

I should have been glad to have had this measure passed at the last session of Congress, but we appreciated the force of the argument that that session was called for a particular purpose, and that all the time which Congress had to give was needed to accomplish that purpose. Now, however, that the session intended for general legislation is open, we have a right to ask that the needed time be given to this most important question. Upon this point we may well adopt the words of "The Commoner." (Dec. 1, 1911.)

"Our Democratic Congress cannot afford to adjourn without acting upon the Philippine question, and when it does act it

has no choice but to carry out the pledge of the Democratic platform. In three national campaigns the Democratic party has stood for a resolution promising independence for the Filipinos. This promise should be fulfilled at once."

"Let the Democratic Congress sound a bugle note in favor of the doctrine that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, and this note will be heard around the world."

The expense entailed by our Philippine experiment is not likely to be over-estimated. The official figures given by the War Department show that the cost of maintaining our troops in the Philippines has exceeded the cost of maintaining an equal force at home by \$167,486,403 since December 8, 1898, the date of the treaty with Spain. Add to this the cost of the navy, the fortifications, and many other items of expense, and we may guess how much the cost of living is enhanced by the taxes which we pay because we govern the Filipinos against their will. How much the burden of the pensions granted already to 28,490 Cuban and Philippine pensioners will be increased by our attempt to hold these islands, no one can guess. The total that we have spent and shall spend for our departure from our principles may well make the most ardent imperialist gasp.

How great this departure is we must realize when we read Governor Forbes's article in the Harvard Graduates Magazine for December last, entitled "The Outlook for College Men in the Philippines." It is a temperate and by no means a rose-colored statement of the opportunities which the islands offer, though it makes a strong appeal to the love of adventure and the chance of a soldier's fame, like that achieved by Kipling's heroes. It is not pleasant to read of "Gallman, who rules with a rod of iron 120,000 savages, whom nobody before has ever been able to deal with or bring under control, whose least word is now their law," of Governor Pack, who rules 350,000 people, described as "industrious, honest, faithful and extremely dirty," or of "gradually persuading by reason and by force, if necessary, the savages to desist from their warfare and reprisals and to engage in the acts of peace." Despotic power, "rods of iron," the government by one man of thousands, nay hundreds of thousands of his fellow-men, have no place under our flag, nor does the "century of dishonor" in our relations with the Indians, or the brutal atrocities which even now almost daily are committed against negroes, north and south,

tend to make us confident that colored Filipinos will be safe in American hands. No man in the United States would intrust another with absolute power over him. By what right do we give that power to one man over thousands of others!

Mr. Forbes suggests that "it is not beyond the bounds of reasonable expectation that the United States will from time to time be looking for men trained in the art of administering dependencies." He seems to feel that the Declaration of Independence is forgotten, and that this great republic, founded on the inalienable rights of man, is committed to the policy of destroying the independence of its weaker neighbors. We are to imitate Russia and to forget the teachings of Washington and Lincoln, to deny the immortal truth which the latter stated when he said: "No man is good enough to govern another without that other's consent." It is time for Congress once for all to stamp out the disease of imperialism, by declaring the independence of the Philippines, in order that the immortal truths upon which our government rests be not displaced by the false notions of a Kipling. Absolute power is full of temptations that no man can withstand, and no human beings under the American flag should ever be forced to regard "the least word" of another as their law.

Governor Forbes is quoted as saying the Filipinos cannot be granted their independence because they cannot sustain a navy. How many independent nations would be blotted from the face of the globe if this doctrine were to be followed? How large a navy has Cuba, how large a navy has Switzerland, how large a navy has Denmark or Norway, or have many of the South American powers? Even where these nations have a few ships, of what value are they against the fleets of their more powerful neighbors? If no nation can be allowed to govern itself unless it has a navy strong enough to defend itself against foreign aggression, few indeed will be the independent powers left in the family of nations.

We hope that Congress will not only adopt the legislation which the Democratic party has promised, but that it will direct a further investigation of Philippine conditions. We need all the light that can be thrown upon the condition of our wards. We should be glad to know whether the cost of administration is increasing, and why and how the money is spent? We should be glad to give the Filipinos an opportunity to make their complaints to an investigating commission, and if the result is to show that everything is as it should be, we Americans

shall be justly proud of our fellow-citizens who, removed from the direct influence of public opinion, and charged with an important trust, have shown themselves worthy of it. If, on the other hand, there exist abuses such as exist in our own midst, and in every part of this country, we shall be in a position to apply the remedies. Our opponents should welcome an investigation, and we count on their cordial co-operation in the attempt to secure it. We want the light. They certainly should have no reason to refuse it.

And so, ladies and gentlemen, we may feel that the last year has helped our cause and that the future is bright, and we may press forward with the confident hope that we shall live to see the day when the stars and stripes wave only over the land of the free, and the principles of the Declaration of Independence have regained their hold on the hearts of the American people. Whatever may happen this year, or in any year during our lives, we may each of us say with Senator Hoar: "I have an assured faith in the future. I have an assured faith in justice and the love of liberty of the American people. The stars in their courses fight for freedom. The Ruler of the Heavens is on that side. If the battle today go against it, I appeal to another day, not distant and sure to come."

## ELECTION OF OFFICERS.

The meeting having voted to proceed to the election of officers, the President was asked to designate a committee of three to collect and count ballots for officers of the League for the ensuing year. The President appointed Dr. Lincoln R. Stone, Mr. Charles A. Taber and Professor L. J. Johnson to be the committee, which, having attended to its duty, reported the following list as unanimously elected:

### PRESIDENT

Moorfield Storey.

### TREASURER

David Greene Haskins, Jr.

### SECRETARY

Erving Winslow

### EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

James H. Bowditch  
Frederick Brooks  
Edward H. Clement  
Charles Fleischer  
Edwin Ginn

Albert S. Parsons  
Albion A. Perry  
John Ritchie  
Frank B. Sanborn  
Fiske Warren



## VICE-PRESIDENTS

### ALABAMA.

Prof. Edgar B. Kay, Tuscaloosa.  
 Prof. H. A. Sayre, Tuscaloosa.  
 Hon. Oscar W. Underwood, Birmingham.

### ALASKA.

Martin Harrais, Esq., Chena.  
 John Ronan, Esq., Fairbanks.

### ARIZONA.

Frank P. Trott, Esq., Phoenix.

### ARKANSAS.

Hon. U. M. Rose, Little Rock.

### CALIFORNIA.

Mrs. Maria Freeman Gray, East Oakland.  
 Pres. David Starr Jordan, Leland Stanford Univ.  
 C. F. Lummis, Esq., Los Angeles.  
 H. C. Newbold, Esq., Haywards.  
 Hon. Warren Olney, Oakland.  
 William H. Rogers, Esq., San Jose.

### COLORADO.

Hon. Moses Hallett, Denver.  
 Hon. John A. Martin, Pueblo.  
 Hon. T. M. Patterson, Denver.  
 Hon. John F. Shafroth, Denver.  
 Hon. C. S. Thomas, Denver.

### CONNECTICUT.

Dean Henry Wade Rogers, New Haven.  
 Rev. Jabez T. Sunderland, Hartford.  
 Hon. Charles F. Thayer, Norwich.

### DELAWARE.

William Canby Ferris, Esq., Wilmington.  
 Hon. Richard R. Kenney, Dover.

### DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

Dr. W. A. Croffut, Washington.  
 Samuel Gompers, Esq., Washington.  
 Gen. Nelson A. Miles, Washington.  
 Hon. Jackson H. Ralston, Washington.

### FLORIDA.

Hon. Thomas M. Shackelford, Tallahassee.

### GEORGIA.

Hon. James H. Blount, Macon.  
 Hon. W. H. Fleming, Augusta.  
 Gen. James Gadsden Holmes, Macon.  
 Hon. Peter W. Meldrim, Savannah.  
 Hon. Hoke Smith, Atlanta.

### IDAHO.

Hon. Simon P. Donnelly, Lakeview.

### ILLINOIS.

Miss Jane Addams, Chicago.  
 Hon. Edward Osgood Brown, Chicago.  
 Francis F. Browne, Esq., Chicago.  
 Prof. Starr Willard Cutting, Chicago.  
 Prof. William E. Dodd, Chicago.

Frederick W. Gookin, Esq., Chicago.  
 Prof. William Gardner Hale, Chicago.  
 Prof. Ira W. Howerth, Chicago.  
 Rev. Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Chicago.  
 Dr. William Morton Payne, Chicago.  
 Louis F. Post, Esq., Chicago.  
 Mrs. Alice Thacher Post, Chicago.  
 Mrs. Edwin Burritt Smith, Chicago.  
 Prof. Frederick Starr, Chicago.  
 Charles M. Sturges, Esq., Chicago.  
 Prof. A. H. Tolman, Chicago.  
 Sigmund Zeisler, Esq., Chicago.

### INDIANA.

Hon. Cyrus Cline, Angola.  
 Hon. H. U. Johnson, Richmond.

### IOWA.

Hon. Horace Boies, Waterloo.  
 Hon. William Larrabee, Clermont.  
 Hon. Cato Sells, Vinton.  
 Hon. Henry Vollmer, Davenport.

### KANSAS.

Hugh P. Farrelly, Esq., Chanute.

### KENTUCKY.

James G. Howard, Esq., Lock.

### LOUISIANA.

Prof. James Hardy Dillard, New Orleans.

### MAINE.

President George C. Chase, Lewiston.  
 Dr. Seth C. Gordon, Portland.  
 Hon. Luther F. McKinney, Bridgton.

### MARYLAND.

Hon. John V. LeMoyne, Baltimore.  
 Hon. George L. Wellington, Cumberland.

### MASSACHUSETTS.

Magnus W. Alexander, Esq., Lynn.  
 Rev. A. A. Berle, Boston.  
 Samuel Bowles, Jr., Esq., Springfield.  
 Col. C. R. Codman, Brookline.  
 Rev. J. H. Crooker, Boston.  
 Rev. C. F. Dole, Boston.  
 Thomas B. Fitzpatrick, Esq., Boston.  
 Francis J. Garrison, Esq., Lexington.  
 Rev. Edwin M. Gushee, Cambridge.  
 President G. Stanley Hall, Worcester.  
 Hon. J. M. Head, Boston.  
 Hon. Roger Sherman Hoar, Concord.  
 Prof. Lewis J. Johnson, Cambridge.  
 Hon. George W. Kelly, Rockland.  
 Henry W. Lamb, Esq., Brookline.  
 Hon. Samuel W. McCall, Winchester.  
 Edwin D. Mead, Esq., Boston.  
 Mrs. Lucia Ames Mead, Boston.  
 Hon. R. M. Morse, Boston.  
 James P. Munroe, Esq., Boston.

Gen. Francis A. Osborn, Boston.  
Miss Emily L. Osgood, Lincoln.  
Hon. Herbert C. Parsons, Greenfield.  
Hon. Josiah Quincy, Boston.  
Dr. Francis H. Rowley, Boston.  
Dr. Patrick J. Timmins, Boston.  
Hon. Winslow Warren, Dedham.

#### MICHIGAN.

Charles S. Hampton, Esq., Detroit.  
Charles Humphrey, Esq., Adrian.  
Rt. Rev. Charles D. Williams, Detroit.

#### MINNESOTA.

Frederick G. Corser, Esq., Minneapolis.  
Hon. John Lind, Minneapolis.

#### MISSISSIPPI.

Hon. John S. Williams, Yazoo City.

#### MISSOURI.

John P. Herrmann, Esq., St. Louis.

#### MONTANA.

Massena Bullard, Esq., Helena.  
Andrew Dunsire, Esq., Kalispell.  
Edward Scharnikow, Esq., Deer Lodge.

#### NEBRASKA.

A. J. Sawyer, Esq., Lincoln.  
Rt. Rev. Arthur S. Williams, Omaha.

#### NEVADA.

Dr. J. J. Sullivan, Virginia City.

#### NEW HAMPSHIRE.

Hon. Henry F. Hollis, Concord.

#### NEW JERSEY.

Ralph W. E. Donges, Esq., Camden.  
Hon. Eugene F. Kinkead, Jersey City.  
Hon. Francis E. Woodruff, Morristown.

#### NEW YORK.

Everett V. Abbot, Esq., New York.  
Rev. Richard W. Boynton, Buffalo.  
Andrew Carnegie, Esq., New York.  
R. Fulton Cutting, Esq., New York.  
Charles Stewart Davison, Esq., New York.

Prof. John Dewey, New York.  
Col. Patrick Ford, New York.  
Austen G. Fox, Esq., New York.  
Henry W. Hardon, Esq., New York.  
Henry Hentz, Esq., New York.  
William Dean Howells, Esq., New York.  
Prof. Jacques Loeb, New York.  
Hon. Thomas Mott Osborne, Auburn.  
Rev. C. H. Parkhurst, New York.

Mrs. Fanny Garrison Villard, Dobbs Ferry.  
Oswald Garrison Villard, New York.

#### NORTH CAROLINA.

President L. L. Hobbs, Guilford.

#### NORTH DAKOTA.

A. C. Reinecke, Esq., Fargo.

#### OHIO.

John H. Clarke, Esq., Cleveland.  
Hon. John J. Lentz, Columbus.  
Hon. Rufus B. Smith, Cincinnati.  
Edward Stang, Esq., Cincinnati.  
Charles B. Wilby, Esq., Cincinnati.

#### OKLAHOMA.

Dr. D. H. Patton, Woodward.

#### OREGON.

James Hennessy Murphy, Esq., Portland.  
H. B. Nicholas, Esq., Portland.  
Col. C. E. S. Wood, Portland.

#### PENNSYLVANIA.

Joseph Fels, Esq., Philadelphia.  
Dr. W. Horace Hoskins, Philadelphia.  
Hon. Alfred H. Love, Philadelphia.  
Mickle C. Paul, Esq., Philadelphia.  
Frank Stephens, Esq., Philadelphia.  
Dr. Robert Ellis Thompson, Philadelphia.  
Herbert Welsh, Esq., Philadelphia.

#### RHODE ISLAND.

Hon. Lucius F. C. Garvin, Lonsdale.  
Edwin C. Pierce, Esq., Providence.

#### SOUTH CAROLINA.

Willie Jones, Esq., Columbia.  
Hon. James Simons, Charleston.

#### SOUTH DAKOTA.

Hon. Levi McGee, Rapid City.  
Joseph B. Moore, Esq., Lead.  
Hon. Richard F. Pettigrew, Sioux Falls.

#### TENNESSEE.

Hon. John Wesley Gaines, Nashville.

#### TEXAS.

Frederick Opp, Esq., Llano.  
Hon. James L. Slayden, San Antonio.

#### UTAH.

P. J. Daly, Esq., Salt Lake City.

#### VERMONT.

Major F. W. Childs, Brattleboro.  
Rev. Charles H. Pennoyer, Springfield.

#### VIRGINIA.

President George H. Denny, Lexington.

#### WASHINGTON.

C. G. Heifner, Esq., Seattle.

#### WEST VIRGINIA.

Hon. A. S. Johnston, Union.  
Hon. John E. Stealey, Clarksburg.

#### WISCONSIN.

William George Bruce, Esq., Milwaukee.

#### WYOMING.

Hon. John C. Hamm, Cheyenne.

The report of the committee being accepted the meeting was dissolved.

5.373

82

14

LIBRARY  
OF THE  
UNIVERSITY  
OF CALIFORNIA

You are earnestly asked to hand this, after reading, to some other person who will also give it careful consideration.

# REPORT

OF THE

## Fourteenth Annual Meeting

OF THE

## Anti-Imperialist League

NOVEMBER 30, 1912

AND ITS ADJOURNMENT

JANUARY 13, 1913

---

PUBLISHED BY  
THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST LEAGUE  
BOSTON





25.373  
Am 8n  
v. 14

## REPORT

The Annual Meeting of the Anti-Imperialist League took place Nov. 30th, 1912, and was continued by adjournments to Jan. 13, 1913, when it was prefaced by a luncheon at the rooms of the Twentieth Century Club, 3 Joy Street, President Moorfield Storey presiding.

### REPORT OF THE SECRETARY.

Mr. President and Men and Women of the Anti-Imperialist League:

We believe that it may not be premature to regard our assembly today as a love feast, since we are now congratulating ourselves upon the accomplishment of Governor Boutwell's condition precedent to the success of our cause, the destruction of the Republican party. It is a singular illustration of the unexpected results brought about by the political whirligig, that the prognostication of the sage of Groton has virtually been fulfilled by the activities of the agitator of Oyster Bay, the imperialist of imperialists. The progress of our cause may be thus summarized. The so-called Friar Lands bill, which we owe greatly to the activities of Mr. Martin of Colorado, was reported from the Insular Committee by Mr. Jones and, although fought with every conceivable device of parliamentary tactics, was passed under his able management in the House of Representatives May 22d last. It is doubtless snugly ensconced in a pigeon hole of the Senate Committee on the Philippines. It should have served as a proper warning to the Governor-General of the Philippines and his associates, technically restoring the Friar Lands and all similar acquisitions as it does to the public domain of the Philippine Islands, where they always rightfully belonged, and subject, therefore to the limitations and restrictions of the Organic Act of July 1, 1902.

NMS 1 Mr '15

Continuation

v. 14

direct of

20113

It is not believed, however, that Mr. Forbes has regarded this monition, which of course has not yet become law, but that he has continued to use every effort to induce investors to purchase large areas of land in the Philippines. As bearing upon the Filipinos's dread of this kind of investment, it may be interesting to mention a bit of information which appeared in the Transcript last October concerning a report made by Commissioner-General Keefe of the Bureau of Immigration, January 25, 1911, of a special investigation in Hawaii. The Commissioner says in this report, which has never been published, "That a great majority of the inhabitants of Hawaii are living in a state of vassalage; that for all practical purposes they are owned by the Sugar Planters, who pay them very low wages and who sell them the necessities of life at exorbitant prices through the medium of 'company stores;' that the country is not being 'Americanized,' but instead that it is actually becoming more and more oriental, almost one-half of the population being Japanese and the proportion increasing rapidly." This is the development of a colonial system against which the Filipinos so passionately protested.

There must have been a certain bitterness to them in the commendation of the agricultural bank which Mr. Taft made a part of his campaign material. Almost immediately after the pacification Aguinaldo urged the establishment of an agricultural bank in Manila to assist his fellow country-men in obtaining and cultivating holdings upon which they were too impoverished to enter without help. An agricultural bank was indeed established, but it has never been developed. And exactly that Raiffeisen system of credits which Mr. Taft was recommending last October for introduction into the United States found only deaf ears when it was urged years ago for the benefit of the Filipinos to save them from the exploitation, in which persons not far removed from the Executive are interested.

It was impossible to consider the Independence bill during the last session, although it was reported by the Committee on Insular Affairs the 20th of March, reported with amendments April 26th, 1912, and committed to the Committee of the whole House on the State of the Union.

Although it seems in some respects desirable that the bill should now pass the House as a commitment of the Democratic Party, as it could get no further at this session it may be

thought best not to expend time and labor on that which must be gone over again next March with a favorable majority in Congress and a well disposed President. For Governor Wilson stands on the Democratic platform and has given independent testimony to his belief in our duty to the Filipinos. Under date of January 4th he writes us: "The whole method of settling the Philippine question is difficult, but our purpose can admit of no doubt." The Chairman of the Insular Committee assures us that "If the Independence Bill does not become a law before the 4th of March next it will be introduced into the House again on the first day of the 63d Congress if I am able to be in my seat at that time."

It is of interest to recall the terms of the original independence bill of the minority of the Insular Committee in 1902 submitted by its leader, Mr. Jones, as a substitute for the Organic Act which was reported by the majority and adopted.

The theory of neutralization had not then been worked out, and there was no accompanying provision for placing the Islands under its protection. We were honored in being consulted by Mr. John S. Williams in the preparation of the document. It is probably to Mr. Jones that we owe the preamble of the bill, which states: "The subject with which this bill deals is one of momentous importance. . . . The chief question involved is whether under the guise of the forms of Civil Government a policy unjust and cruel to the people of the Philippine Islands, and injurious and dishonoring to American citizenship shall be indefinitely, if not perpetually, continued, or that there shall be substituted in its stead a more righteous and humane policy, the intent and purpose of which is to confer upon that people within the shortest practicable period and upon certain reasonable and proper terms and concessions an autonomous system of free self-government based upon the principle of an independence modified as to their foreign affairs; which modified independence, after the lapse of a reasonable period (affording that practical training and actual experience in the art of self-government so necessary to fit them for its ultimate exercise and full enjoyment), shall eventuate into an unqualified and absolute independence. To hold the Filipinos in a condition of subjection to and dependence upon the government of the United States, in the opinion of the minority members of this committee, is violative of the declaration sol-



emly made by the Congress of the United States at the incipency of the war with Spain, is repugnant to the principles upon which the American Republic was founded and incompatible with a system of free government based upon the consent of the governed, and must, if indefinitely persisted in, result in the subversion of the liberties and the destruction of the free institutions of the American people."

This original independence bill was much shorter than the present one. Indeed, it embraced only nine sections, whilst the present one contains more than thirty. In principle it did not differ from the present bill. It provided for a temporary government to carry the Philippine people over a probationary period of four years, after which they were to have their complete independence. During the temporary government we were given a protectorate over their foreign affairs, and we reserved certain naval and coaling stations, as is the case in our bill. The main difference between the two is that whereas the probationary period in the present bill is eight years, the original bill provided that in no event should the temporary government extend more than four years. The provisions as to suffrage were about the same. It provided that there should be a House of Representatives consisting of 100 members, and a Senate of thirty members, and gave the Philippine Commission authority to apportion them. It provided also that the Philippine Congress, when elected, should prescribe rules and regulations for holding a Constitutional Convention charged with the duty of forming a permanent government. It provided that this Constitutional Convention should meet not later than the first Monday in January, 1905, and that upon the completion of its labors and the inauguration of the permanent government consequent thereon that the President of the United States should issue his proclamation declaring the absolute and unqualified independence of the Filipinos. It provided further that if the Philippine government requested it, the United States government would agree to assume a protectorate over the Islands for an additional period of sixteen years, during which sixteen years the Philippine government should surrender to the keeping of the United States Government control of the foreign affairs of the Philippines.

The hypocrisy of the feigned astonishment on the part of the bourbon press at the presentation of the cause of Philippine independence today, when opportunity at last offers for favor-



able action in regard to it, is unmasked by reference to this important bill, the discussion of which did not take place in a corner, and which has been succeeded all along by public and private agitation in the same direction, accompanied by the pertinacious activities of the Anti-Imperialist League.

Some of these sapient commentators would have us believe that they regarded the Democratic platform as a kind of a joke, others that it is impossible to suppose that Governor Wilson can lend himself to a course, which it is assumed, that his party had adopted merely for the sake of opposition and they all with one consent pronounce that the Filipinos in their hopes and the Anti-Imperialists in their prognostications are and were mere rainbow chasers.

Besides the adoption of the very satisfactory plank at the Democratic National Convention in Baltimore, our representatives, Mr. Clement and Mr. Herrmann, had the satisfaction of seeing delegates who presented themselves as representing the Democratic Party in the Philippine Islands excluded from the convention upon the old constitutional ground that not being an integral part of the United States our parties could have no standing there. This result was largely brought about by the eloquent appeal of the Hon. John Sharp Williams, although the committee on nominations had voted to admit the delegates.

#### OTHER IMPERIALISTIC AGGRESSIONS.

It has been necessary largely to confine ourselves to the particular purpose of the League as stated in its constitution: "To work constantly for the early and complete independence of the Philippine Islands." When this object is attained, if the organization of the League is still supported it should undoubtedly go on to antagonize as inconsistent with American ideals the forcible extension of the sovereignty of the United States over any foreign people. We have done what we could by the way of noting a protest from time to time against successive outbreaks of the spirit which was created or let loose by the Spanish-American War. Especially dangerous is this spirit when disguised in the robes of peace and urging that kind of pacification which accompanied the extension of "dollar diplomacy," unless, indeed, the "peace" that prevailed in "Warsaw" should be adopted as the motto of our time. The tremendous force which is opposing Philippine independence is not

political nor patriotic not proselytizing; — it is commercial. That hunger of capital for more food and new food, which in a sense we cannot blame as being a natural instinct like hunger of the body, requires the closest guardianship and watchfulness. We did very actively protest against the rape of Panama, the establishment of a protectorate in Santo Domingo and Liberia, the so-called Honduras and Nicaragua treaties urged by Mr. Taft as a part of his arbitration-treaties-peace program, but which were nothing more than official sanction and protection to private capital invested in those countries,—and against the recent invasion of Nicaragua under that most strained interpretation of the “Conventions” which was made in the office of the Secretary of State to authorize interference with internal affairs of Latin America. The committee of the League sent to Senator Bacon a memorial supporting his action in the Senate to obtain an investigation into this very dangerous precedent justifying as it may any sort of interference and furnishing an encouragement to every violent movement strong enough to make headway and sufficiently audacious to appeal to United States patronage. Since the present officials of Nicaragua elected under the control of the United States forces have thanked the United States authorities for the preservation of order our good easy people are satisfied that the incident is closed with eclat.

Even the Advocate of Peace, since its transfer to Washington, conforming to the proprieties, assures us indeed that all is well in these words:

“It was President Taft’s hand that preserved the independence of Liberia and brought back to life that interesting little waif of ours. During the Taft regime Venezuela has sloughed off Castro and enjoyed a fuller measure of peace. Zelaya has fortunately been deposed in Nicaragua and the Emery claim settled. The Aslop case has been disposed of and the troubles of a generation with Chili ended. American leadership has shown Nicaragua the way to financial integrity, and Honduras is about to accept our guidance in its business affairs, as has Santo Domingo.”

The Committee has added to the list of its Vice-Presidents Prof. Garrett Droppers, of Williamstown, Mass., the Rev. Alonzo K. Parker, of the University of Chicago, Ill., Josephus Daniels, Esq., of Raleigh, N. C., Rev. W. H. van Allen, S. T.

D., of Boston, President Paul D. Barringer, of the Virginia Polytechnic Institute, Blacksburg, Va., and Stephen D. Parrish, Esq., of Richmond, Ky.

November 16th the League lost, in the death of former Governor William Larrabee, of Iowa, one of its oldest Vice-Presidents, whose name appears in the first official roll and who has taken unfailing interest in the cause which we represent. The true Democratic spirit, which is world wide and which led him to sympathize with our movement, was manifested in national and state affairs, and especially in the control of transportation in a manner which gave him popular leadership, and at eighty years of age he was still an active and useful citizen.

### MEETINGS.

At the Annual Meeting the League had the pleasure of hearing an address from the Philippine Commissioner, Hon. Manuel L. Quezon. It seemed that no speaker could be so influential in creating an interest in the welfare and the independence of his people as this eloquent Filipino, besides being in his own person, according to the happy characterization of Mr. Zeisler, of Chicago, "Exhibit A" of the wild inhabitants of the Archipelago! Mr. Quezon has made addresses in Boston before the Atlantic Conference, the Bank Officers Association, at the City Club, at St. Louis and Chicago before the respective City Clubs of those cities, also before the Women's Club and other organizations of Chicago, and before a large meeting at Cincinnati, Ohio. These were almost altogether arranged by the League. In some instances they led to requests for return engagements. Without a dissenting voice from press or public the affairs were most effective and enthusiastic. The academic appeal of the fervent advocate is nothing like that of a personal appeal of the client made with such modesty, sincerity and fervor as our young friend possesses. Were we pleading to the Lord for the Filipinos' independence we could offer an acceptable pledge where Father Abraham failed to enumerate enough of the righteous to redeem the city, in the multitude of such men as Ocampo, Lopez, Osmena and Quezon, with faculties and abilities to save their country.

In the Lake Mohonk Conference we noted another straw which indicates the direction from which the favorable gale is



now blowing. Hitherto when the Philippine matters have been discussed the choice of speakers has been apparently made by a specific and malevolent intent, and the administration side has had all innings. This year Prof. Willis, Mr. Kalaw, Mr. DeWitt, Mr. R. L. O'Brien and others spoke for the cause, and if full justice had been done there is no doubt but an independence resolution would have been placed in the platform. Mr. O'Brien's speech was a ringing one, full of enthusiasm, and Mr. Kalaw made a very strong appeal to the gathering by his youthful simplicity, modesty and earnestness.

#### PETITIONS AND MESSAGES.

May 20th a cable was sent by the Executive Committee to El Ideal and La Vanguardia asking support of the Jones bill, and expressing the confidence of the Committee in Commissioner Quezon.

June 6th the following minute was adopted, communicated to the President of the United States and the press:

The Executive Committee of the Anti-Imperialist League records its emphatic approval of the policy of non-interference with the internal affairs of foreign countries, including those of the American continent, any sort of responsibility for them having ceased with the outgrowth of the Monroe doctrine. The Committee especially desires to commend the dignified abstention of the President of the United States from intervention in Mexico. Urgency has doubtless been resisted for forcible interference to protect pecuniary investments, by interests similar to those which half a century ago were demanding action from European powers looking to the enforced termination of the Civil War.

The Committee devoutly hopes that our people generally may increasingly recognize and appreciate the fundamental necessity for respecting the inviolate sanctity of each nation's self-government and independence, as essential to the maintenance of liberty, both at home and abroad. And those in power are exhorted to eternal vigilance against aggressive policies inherited from former generations which, unless reanimated by the deliberate efforts of demagogues or by those commercial interests which thrive upon the misfortune of mankind, would



naturally fall into desuetude with the changed conditions of our day.

February 8th the following petition was adopted:  
To the Senate and House of Representatives in Congress Assembled:

The Executive Committee of the Anti-Imperialist League respectfully and earnestly urges that no appropriation be authorized for battleships at this session of Congress. The action of the caucus already taken has gladdened the hearts of all who regard the true interests of their country, and who recognize the vital importance of international peace. The position of the United States among the nations of the world is such that she, better than any other, can check the insane rivalry among the nations for superiority in armaments, rivalry which burdens every taxpayer with increasing burdens and which must sooner or later end in the bankruptcy of all nations which persevere in it. Our example will do more to promote the ideal of peace than any agitation however general.

In no true sense can those who advocate the increased navy be reckoned friends of peace, and their professions are empty phrases unless upon the monstrous theory that the peace of the world is to be attained by a competition among all the Great Powers to obtain such supremacy as may finally enable one of them to control all the rest.

The approaching enfranchisement of the Philippine Islands and their neutralization, in itself a significant pledge of peace, removes one of the arguments made by those who plead for a large navy, the group of naval officers and their supporters, the naval contractors, and as an indication that the United States proposes to abandon the policy of aggression, and confine its efforts to dealing with the problems which confront its own people, will be of far reaching and more salutary effect.

A majority of the people, in our judgment, share our views, and are opposed to any increase in naval expenditure.

March 28th the following action was taken: Voted:

That the Secretary be authorized and directed to express to the Hon. William Atkinson Jones the Committee's recognition and cordial appreciation of the services he has rendered by the preparation and promotion of H. R. 22,143, promising

independence to the Filipino people, in fulfilment of the pledge made by the platform of the last three Democratic Conventions. The act, proceeding in such large measure from the loyalty of Mr. Jones to the constitutional principles of the United States and to the basic American attitude of sympathy with all peoples seeking their freedom, is an historic event. The forward movement thus initiated by him will lead, as the Committee earnestly believes, to restoration of the long violated ideals of the republic and to the fulfilment of the Filipinos' brave and persistent appeals for liberty.

June 20th a suggested plank for the platform of the Democratic National Convention at Baltimore was adopted:

The last three national platforms of the Democratic party, by their declarations in behalf of early independence for the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands, effectively noted a continuing protest against the action of Republican administration in maintaining sovereignty over an alien people.

The Democratic party is now entering into the opportunity of forming and carrying out a constructive policy to redeem the pledge originally made to the inhabitants of the Philippines and to abandon an attitude on the part of the United States so inconsistent with its own fundamental doctrines of self-government. We pledge ourselves to the support of the bills reported by the Committee on Insular Affairs of the House of Representatives and now pending in that body, which provide for the early independence of the Philippine Islands, hoping for their neutralization by international treaties. The United States would thus be honorably relieved from the responsibility of maintaining a remote colony with a discontented population certain to become a growing burden and menace, in case of foreign complications. Our commercial interests with a grateful and friendly people will grow and prosper, while we maintained suitable coaling stations and naval bases in the archipelago.

August 23d the following vote was passed and ordered to be communicated to Senator Bacon:

The Executive Committee of the Anti-Imperialist League desire to present to you their very cordial approval of your attitude concerning the invasion of Nicaragua by the forces of

the United States; and to present, through you, to the Senate, their remonstrance against this action. We have viewed, with great satisfaction, the wise and patriotic course of President Taft's administration in refraining from interference in the domestic affairs of Mexico and in resisting as we have little doubt was the case, strong and persistent pressure in favor of intervention; and we regret that similar prudence and justice seem not to have been displayed in the present instance.

In behalf of the League and of all who believe in the principles of the Declaration of Independence, we strongly condemn the growing tendency, in this country, to interfere forcibly in the affairs of our smaller and less powerful neighbors; and to assert a paternal over-lordship in their affairs. We believe the Golden Rule is applicable to nations as well as to individuals, and that we should not take in Nicaragua, in the interest of American investors or residents who have assumed their own risk, or even in the cause of Peace—temporary military control, that we would never have tolerated ourselves from any other power.

The statement in Washington dispatches that the United States will not object to the rebels assuming control, if they have a majority; but that the President of Nicaragua must be elected by a free and fair ballot, is ominous and tends to confirm the necessity of immediate investigation.

The following address was adopted Oct. 30, and published:

The Executive Committee of the Anti-Imperialist League, as a non-political organization, desires to recommend to those who are interested in its work and objects and who may consider them of paramount importance, the method in which their votes may be cast so as to best promote the success of Philippine independence.

We advise that presidential electors pledged to vote for Governor Woodrow Wilson as President standing on the Democratic platform and pledged to its declaration by his own letter of acceptance, be supported, inasmuch as the Republican platform disavows any political duty in the Philippine matter and the Progressive platform mentions it not at all, while the Democratic platform promises Philippine independence. The utmost efforts of Mr. Taft and his appointees in the Philippine government were exerted in promoting the exploitation of the

Philippine Islands until their course was checked by the action of the House of Representatives last Spring in limiting the size of areas which can be sold to investors. The policy thus supported by Mr. Taft was sure to produce the same conditions brought about in Hawaii, where, according to the report of the Immigrant Commissioner of the United States the inhabitants are slaves to the Sugar Planters. There is not hope for such a policy as we advocate in either Mr. Taft or Mr. Roosevelt.

In regard to the candidates for the United States Senate, the Hon. Samuel W. McCall among the Republicans has been a staunch supporter of Philippine independence and has promised to vote for the bill establishing it, reported by the Insular Committee of the House of Representatives. The Democrats whose names have been suggested for the Senatorship presumably support the declaration of the National Democratic Convention and of Governor Wilson, concerning the relation between the United States and the Philippine Islands.

All the Democratic candidates for the National House of Representatives are pledged to support action looking to the early independence of the Philippine Islands, but the Hon. Andrew J. Peters has been especially prominent in actually promoting the cause in Congress.

#### DOCUMENTS DISTRIBUTED.

The Thirteenth Annual Report of the Anti-Imperialist League.

Address Before the Thirteenth Annual Meeting of the Anti-Imperialist League, the Hon. Manuel L. Quezon.

Neutralization of the Philippines Report and Resolution, from the Committee on Insular Affairs.

Report upon Bill for the Independent Government of the Philippines.

Digest of the Bill for the Independent Government of the Philippines

The Philippines and the Monroe Doctrine, James Schouler, February 5, 1912.

Shuster on the Philippines, Winslow Warren, February 15, 1912.

The Old, Old Story Again, Boston Herald, March 9, 1912.

Disposition of the Friar Lands, Speech of Hon. Manuel L. Quezon, May 1, 1912.



Governor Forbes a Failure, Erving Winslow, May 8, 1912.  
 The Philippines for the Filipinos, Speech of Hon. Manuel L. Quezon, May 15, 1912.  
 The Filipino Protest, May 30, 1912.  
 Remarks of Hon. Manuel L. Quezon, on the Philippine Independence Bill, June 1, 1912.  
 Democracy's Danger, June 1, 1912.  
 Eyes of the World on the Philippines, George A. Dorsey, Ph. L.L. D., June 1, 1912.  
 Ensnaring the Philippines, Boston Common, June 29, 1912.  
 Intervention in Nicaragua, October 1, 1912.  
 High Finance and War, October 19, 1912.  
 Agricultural Finance, November 1, 1912.  
 Wilson's Triumph, El Ideal, November 6, 1912.  
 Taft An Appreciation, A Filipino, November 8, 1912.  
 Philippine Question, William S. Lyon, November 8, 1912.  
 Believes Wilson Means Business, Erving Winslow, November 17, 1912.  
 The Philippine Question, New York Evening Post, December 9, 1912.

#### OTHER PUBLICATIONS.

The publication of "The American Occupation of the Philippines," 1898-1912, by Judge Blount, is an incident of marked importance. As a serious and sincere statement from one who had occupied civil and military office under the United States Government, this publication has the value of State's evidence, and, although carefully avoiding personalities as far as possible the position taken by American officials, both in Washington and in the Philippines, is effectively betrayed. Judge Blount's book has been received with respect by prominent reviewers even where their conditions have limited their enthusiasm. The size and cost of the volume will of course prevent its receiving a very wide distribution, but no public or private library of importance can do without it, and it will furnish the arsenal for many of the weapons to be used in the coming campaign in Congress when the independence of the Philippines is to be contended for. It is interesting to note that Bishop Brent, who has been, like Judge Blount, a long resident and laborer in the Philippine Islands and who has hitherto clung to the theories of the administration, has recently said (though of course the

day is never the present one) that some day, after we have finished our duty, America can relinquish the torch of democracy into Filipino hands with confidence that its flame will be cherished. The most notable exposure in Judge Blount's book perhaps is that of the deception practised on the American people in regard to the condition of things in the Philippine Islands in 1901 and 1902, when it had been given out that general pacification had been reached, and in order to prevent the truth from reaching America and affecting the American elections, disorders which required strong and vigorous repression were allowed to exist and to multiply. The other very serious point upon which Judge Blount enlarges is the export duty upon hemp with its rebate to American consumers, which has almost destroyed the industry in the Philippine Islands while it bestowed a free gift or subsidy upon the Harvester Co. Representatives Jones in the House of Representatives and Senator Works in the Senate have introduced bills requesting information as to Judge Blount's allegation.

A very important movement has been the establishment of the Journal "The Filipino People" by Mr. Quezon, which was edited during his absence by Prof. H. Parker Willis. The combination of fearlessness with courtesy and high purpose in the editorial conduct of a paper with agreeable form and typography and pleasant illustrations have given it already a very pronounced success. One of the most important matters introduced by it to the public has been a very remarkable letter from President Schurman of Cornell University, long inclined to favor Philippine independence as an ideal, but who in this letter, made public for the first time, declares with emphasis that the moment has come, and that the people, whom he knows so thoroughly, are ready.

Mr. Schurman says:

"The Bill, however, recognizes that there is no complete answer to the doubt felt by so many people in the United States regarding the capacity of the Filipinos to govern themselves, short of the answer of actual demonstration. It is proposed, therefore, that there shall be a probationary period of self-government and sovereignty during a period of eight years, qualified by a veto right in the President and Congress of the United States. This will give the Filipinos ample opportunity

to demonstrate their capacity to manage their own affairs. It will also be for them a school of constantly enlarging self-government, finally expanding itself to independent and sovereign self-government. And when, on the 4th day of July, 1921, the full and complete independence of the Philippines shall be acknowledged, the United States will thereafter have no responsibilities for the affairs of the Philippine people, and will have no obligation to defend them either against foreign invasion or internal disorder. The large army that we now maintain in the Philippines can be called home. The danger of Asiatic complications will be greatly reduced.

"But can the Philippine Republic stand alone? The Filipinos, who are the best judges of the matter, think it can. If they are mistaken, the penalty falls on them, and not on us. And it must be acknowledged that recent events in Asia make for the immunity of the Filipinos. A republic has been established in China, devoted to peace and modern civilization; if it fights at all it will be in defence, not for purposes of aggression. Furthermore, Japan's victories both over China and Russia have shifted its center of gravity from the Islands confronting the coast of Asia to the mainland. Its development for the future is not through the Islands southward by way of Formosa, but on the mainland westward through Korea and Manchuria. And while Asiatic nations are thus drawn away from the Philippine Islands, there seems to be no European nation which would have special interest in annexation.

"The Bill, however, proposes to give the Filipinos the best possible opportunity for maintaining their independence and national sovereignty, and an effective means of protection is at hand. How are the integrity and independence of Switzerland and Belgium maintained? As everyone knows, they are maintained by international neutralization. The Bill accordingly provides that the President of the United States shall open negotiations with foreign governments, including those of Great Britain, Germany, France, Russia, Japan and Spain, with a view to securing the neutrality of the Philippine Islands and the recognition of their independence through international agreement.

"I repeat finally that this Bill offers the wisest, justest and most statesman-like solution of the Philippine problem which has yet been presented. It conserves all the material interests



of the people of the United States and the Islands. It embodies the political ideals of the American people and responds to the ardent aspirations of the people of the Philippines. Had such a measure been enacted into law earlier, the United States would have had the honor and eternal glory of establishing the first republic in the continent of Asia. Now that the Chinese people have anticipated our action we ought not to delay in responding to their challenge to set up beside the big republic of China the neighboring republic of the Philippines. But whatever any other nation may do or not do, justice, honor and true Americanism combine with national self-interest and expediency in prescribing that we should, without delay, permit the Filipinos to govern themselves and to set up within the next few years an independent and sovereign Philippine Republic."

This letter has so excited the Republican politicians that the question has been raised whether or not it was not communicated to Mr. Quezon's paper before President Schurman's appointment as minister of Greece. In this case it has been suggested that discipline would be appropriate!

The November number of "The Filipino People" contained a letter strongly committing Speaker Clark to immediate legislative action for Philippine independence, the clearest and most satisfactory enunciation which has yet been made by him.

A note might be made here of another article by Mr. Cyrus H. Wicker in a recent "Atlantic Monthly," in which he pays tribute to the capacity of the Filipinos for self-government, but urges in connection therewith a form of neutralization which would be impossible to realize, inasmuch as in his theory it is to be combined with continued ownership by the United States.

#### CONCLUSION.

Lest we should be tempted to relax our efforts by trusting in the favorable auguries of the time and lay down our arms in view of a coming victory, notes of challenge and of warning are sounded which remind us that our old enemy is still in the field and ready with the same sort of treacherous weapons as of old.

A correspondent in Manila, a reputable business man, in a recent communication summarizes the forces arrayed against us.



"Both the civil and military governments are buyers of enormous quantities of supplies. They now favor American tradesmen, a patronage which would naturally revert to Filipino dealers upon a change of governmental policy. The daily (American) newspapers are, of course, the most virulent advocates of the 'uplift' rot. Given to them the loss of the government and of their commercial advertising and they could not live a week.

They, newspapers and merchants, are strenuous and united in urging the ingress of American capital. Every dollar of American capital planted in their country cements by a new tie the continuity of present relations. These benighted 'savages,' so unfit for self-government, have the perspicacity of vision and acumen to grasp this fact and oppose it bitterly. The newspapers use this as an argument to show that these people have not intelligence enough to grasp the fact that outside capital brings prosperity to a people; ergo, they have not sense enough to govern themselves!

The military are no whit behind. They like this tour of duty. They are at less living expense, their travel back and forth is free and their pay automatically goes up ten per cent during their detail to the Philippines. In short, we, about all of us, have an axe to grind."

Mr. Taft, in an apparently authorized statement, declared that he intended to devote himself during the remaining months of his term and as a private citizen to a propaganda in opposition to efforts to grant independence to the Philippines. On this matter he said he was deeply interested, and at the first available opportunity he would make a public announcement of his purpose to begin a campaign for the defeat of a bill pending in Congress which provides that the Filipinos shall have self-government. It was added that Mr. Taft regarded this subject as of the greatest importance to the people of the United States as a whole, and of particular importance to those American church organizations that are engaged in missionary effort in the Philippine Islands.

Of all public crimes the greatest is surely to bring religion into the sphere of political action.

Mr. Taft is no stranger to this method of promoting his object. It met with success in 1908, but it will not be effectual today. Catholics and Protestants are alike assured that in the free Philippine State there is to be not the slightest menace to

any form of belief,—for the Filipinos have distinctly declared for a free church in a free state.

It is a notable fact that Mr. Taft's efforts in this direction have been countered through the attack of his Secretary of War upon the great civilizing work of the Roman Catholic Church in the Philippines during three centuries in order to heighten the effect of Mr. Stimson's magniloquent panegyric of the American redemption of a "barbarous people."

Mr. John P. Sutton, the well-known Irish Nationalist, has been inspired by this outrage to contribute to the "Nebraska State Journal" a paper that was reprinted in the "Irish World," which, after describing the cultivation of the people in the Philippines under the Roman Catholic rule, before the Fathers landed at Plymouth Rock, retorts as follows:

"It could not be said of them what Secretary Stimson affirmed of the Spaniards in respect to the Filipinos. The Puritans did not hold the Indians 'for centuries in ignorance.' Convinced that there was no good Indian but a dead one, they proceeded to exterminate the natives they found in possession of New England. It was the 'Anglo-Saxon' method of 'spreading civilization and Christianity.' That the Catholic discoverers of the Philippines did not imitate it, is seen by the fact that today there are seven million Filipinos who, despite the Secretary of War's assertion, have able representatives in all the learned professions."

That this matter was not alluded to in the Philippine paragraph of Mr. Taft's message to Congress wherein he inaugurated his campaign does not imply that it has been abandoned, but rather the contrary; the sectarian appeal being always a still hunt.

In this message, which hardly deserves criticism in its fatiguing monotony of matter and form, even the old bogie "policy of scuttle" bobbing up serenely, there is one statement which his recent opponent for the Presidency would have promptly and accurately characterized. Mr. Taft says that there is no substantial difference of opinion among any of those who have had the responsibility of facing Philippine problems in the administration of the Islands! Yet President Jacob Gould Schurman of the first Philippine Commission who certainly faced this responsibility in the Islands in the gravest form says, as we have seen, that the Jones bill is a great piece of constructive statesmanship and earnestly hopes it may be passed.

Another challenge came from Cameron Forbes, who, on the eve of his departure last autumn for the scene of his colonial government, was entertained at the City Club. He mentioned in his after-dinner speech a "chance rumor" which had reached him that there was a bill somewhere promising to give the Philippine Islands independence at the end of a very few years, and he took occasion to warn the incoming government against "flippantly" tossing aside the welfare of nine millions of people. Flippantly,—Cameron Forbes? This epithet for the fulfilment of the mature conviction and the unceasing labors of Hoar, Harrison, Sherman, Schurz, Cleveland, Sumner, Boutwell, Atkinson and their successors to the present day, supported through all the years by the encouragement and the liberal gifts of so many noble men and women, among whom some of the most ardent and generous were those of your own name and blood! Flippant,—Cameron Forbes? This well considered act, that noble and solemn deed of restitution, justice and loyalty, without its equal in the history of the Republic—to the fulfilment of which we again devote our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honor!

ERVING WINSLOW.

# REPORT OF THE TREASURER.

## THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST LEAGUE, IN ACCOUNT WITH

DAVID G. HASKINS, JR., *Treasurer.*

*Dr.*

To amounts expended from January 1, 1912, to  
December 31, 1912.

For Postage, Express, Messengers . . . .	\$ 894.66
" Stationery, Telephone, Telegraph . . .	289.23
" Cable to Manila . . . . .	40.12
" Typewriting, etc. . . . .	469.71
" Printing, etc. . . . .	245.37
" Meetings . . . . .	72.70
" Office Rent . . . . .	300.00
" Translations and Sundries. . . . .	23.35
" Balance New Account . . . . .	103.77
	<hr/>
	\$2,438.91

*Cr.*

By balance on hand January 1, 1912 . . .	\$ 106.66
" Contributions . . . . .	1,681.50
" Annual Subscriptions . . . . .	642.75
" Membership and Lunch Fees . . . . .	8.00

E. and O. E,

---

\$2,438.91

DAVID G. HASKINS, JR., *Treasurer.*

8 Beacon Street, Boston, Mass., January 11, 1913.

I hereby certify that I have audited the accounts of David G. Haskins, Jr., as Treasurer of the Anti-Imperialist League for the year January 1, 1912, to January 1, 1913, and have found them correctly cast and properly vouched, and find that he has a cash balance on hand of \$103.77.

GEORGE H. CATE, *Auditor.*



Your Treasurer is glad, in presenting this report, to be able heartily to congratulate the members of the League on the remarkable improvement in the political situation and prospects of the cause. For twelve years we carried on our work under great difficulties; in spite of violent abuse, of ridicule and of contemptuous indifference; in spite of misrepresentations and popular ignorance; in spite of the open opposition or unfriendly silence of a large part of the press; and of the sincere but misplaced missionary and philanthropic zeal, and mistaken sense of duty of many of our best citizens. Every department of the United States Government,—executive, legislative, and judicial,—was in the hands of the imperialists; while the Democrats, who, from the beginning, had espoused our cause, were divided, demoralized, and repeatedly beaten in successive elections. And, in spite of the remarkable unselfish devotion and repeated contributions of the friends of the cause, our resources were utterly inadequate for the great work which we had undertaken. But in our support of a cause founded on the immortal principles of the Declaration of Independence, and which, we believed, had the promise of the future, we could not falter nor feel disheartened; though our hope sometimes seemed long deferred, and it was hard to find tangible ground for encouragement.

At last, in 1910, the tide began to turn. The Democrats regained control of the House of Representatives, which they had lost fourteen years before. The Insular Committee of this new House prepared and reported a measure now pending, known as the Jones bill, granting to the Filipinos immediately a great increase in self-government, and full independence in 1921. And two months ago the great Republican Party, which had been responsible for the whole disastrous unamerican adventure in imperialism, rent into two hostile factions, each led by a strong and pronounced imperialist, was at last overwhelmingly defeated; and the Democrats won the election in a remarkable political landslide, which gave them forty states, the Presidency and both Houses of Congress; and has put them in a position to perform their pledges, four times solemnly given in national conventions. Never before has this League assembled under such encouraging conditions. The least sanguine anti-imperialist cannot fail to recognize the light of the brightening political skies.

But let us not hastily assume that our work is done; or that

it is time to think of disbanding the League. The storm clouds have not yet all blown away. The Democratic Party, it is true, will soon be in full control of the government. The President-elect has intimated a hope for Philippine independence. Mr. Bryan, Speaker Champ Clark, Vice President Marshall and other able and influential leaders will heartily support the cause. The rank and file of the party are sound on the question. But there are unhappily some influential Democrats, in and out of the new Congress, who are imperialists; and who seem already working and planning to influence Gov. Wilson, and to prevent or delay the work so well begun by Mr. Jones and his committee. The fight is already on. Our excellent and accomplished President, to whose high character and splendid efforts in behalf of international peace your Treasurer, personally, is glad to pay a sincere tribute of respect and admiration, is leading the imperialistic side with all the influence of his personal sincerity, high position and experience in the Islands. The Republicans are almost solidly behind him. The Progressives, in their nation-wide search for reforms to advocate, overlooked this cause, and nominated the arch-imperialist of the country for President. Unknown business interests are doubtless secretly encouraging the opposition. Efforts will be made to delay the independence measure or to divert the attention of the country to other matters. Purely American questions of absorbing interest, such as the tariff, the trusts, the military policy, the increase of the navy—questions coming nearer home to our people—may turn away attention from the distant Philippines. No stone will be left unturned to delay the inevitable triumph of righteousness.

And so it clearly behooves us of the League, and all good anti-imperialists throughout the length and breadth of the country, to gird ourselves once more for the conflict. It is our privilege and our duty to keep the question constantly before the administration, before Congress, and before the country; to hold up the anti-imperialist standard; to oppose any weakening or compromise and all insidious schemes to delay the great act of justice to which the party is pledged; to continue our work of agitation and of information, and of influencing public opinion. That is what we are here for.

Of course, the moral of these remarks you have already guessed. To do all this might require very large funds. To do anything involves considerable expense. Your Treasurer knows

that he speaks to sympathetic and liberal supporters of this sacred cause, whose unselfish devotion may always be relied on, who need no urging to do their best. We are beginning this new and most important year with a balance of one hundred dollars,—enough to last us for about three weeks. He feels that he need say no more.

DAVID G. HASKINS, JR., Treasurer.

## ADDRESS OF PRESIDENT MOORFIELD STOREY.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

The reports of the Secretary and Treasurer have laid before you the history of the past year so far as it relates to the work of the League, and we may well go forward with renewed courage and with increased confidence in the triumph of our cause.

The Democratic Party, which has pledged itself to give the Filipinos their independence in every national platform since we conquered the Islands, has come into power and is now in a position to fulfil its promises. The Committee on Insular Affairs has reported a bill prepared by its chairman, Hon. W. A. Jones, which deals wisely and conservatively with the situation. The President-elect has announced his desire that the Philippines may soon cease to be a part of our frontier, and now that the opportunity and the power to do these islanders justice is in the hands of those who desire such justice, the result should be assured.

But as we approach the decision, the forces which for one reason or another are enlisted in support of the present status are rallying to its defence, and insisting that it must be maintained. This is natural and was always to be expected. Some have direct personal interests as officials or beneficiaries of the existing government. Some have business interests and dread any change. It is said that certain religious bodies are being stirred up to oppose it in their sectarian interest. There are some who have committed themselves so often and so publicly to the opinion that the Filipinos are not fit to govern themselves, that their reputations are at stake, and there is a large body of our fellow-citizens who are impressed with the belief that we are doing a great work in these Islands which we cannot abandon without violating a sacred trust. Perhaps to these classes should be added those partisan Republicans who support every policy that their party has adopted, and oppose everything that is proposed by a Democrat. It is to be expected that these various forces acting in combination will do all that is possible to delay Philippine independence, and that they will



resort to every variety of false charge, unsupported assumption and gloomy prophecy. Their statements will have weight with many. They will be repeated by newspapers like the Boston Transcript, which can give half a page to a thoroughly misleading statement of Philippine conditions, and with characteristic cowardice can find no place in its columns for a reply or indeed for anything that will correct any misapprehension on the part of its readers, though it has ample space for dissertations on the varying phases of school or college athletics. With your permission I will try to answer the arguments of our opponents.

The original position of those who desire the retention of the Islands was stated by Senator Lodge in his speech as presiding officer of the Republican Convention at Philadelphia in 1900.

"We make no hypocritical pretence of being interested in the Philippine Islands solely on account of others. While we regard the welfare of these people as a sacred trust, we regard the welfare of the American people first. We see our duty to ourselves as well as others. We believe in trade expansion."

This bald statement was felt to be unsafe, and in later years the doctrine has been "The Philippines for the Filipinos." The conscience of the American people has been soothed by the assurance that our rule is of great benefit to the Filipinos, that we have given them good roads, railroads and improved steamship facilities, good water, good schools, good sanitary regulations, and other like material benefits. Our policy has been described as "altruistic," and we are urged not to abandon our benevolent enterprise of building up a Filipino nation to whom we shall cheerfully in the distant future grant independence. So far has the statement varied that Secretary Stimson in his annual report made in December last says that our "policy may be expressed as having for its sole object the preparation of the Filipino peoples for popular self-government in their own interest and not in the interest of the United States."

The statement is altered, but the policy is the same. Our opponents propose to hold the Islands for generations, to plant American dollars there, to foster American interests by skilful legislation as they have the interests which buy Manila hemp, and to strengthen in every way the ties which bind the Islands to this country in the hope which they openly express that the islanders will not desire independence; or, as Mr. Taft puts it, we must "endeavor to secure for the Filipinos economic independence and to fit them for complete self-government with the

power to decide eventually according to their own largest good whether such self-government shall be accompanied by independence." The sugar coating is here, but it is the American people who are to decide at their pleasure when the Filipinos are fit to determine whether they want independence.

This claim of absolute power to be exercised for an indefinite future stamps the policy. It does not mean independence, but continued absolute subjection. Nay, both President Taft and Secretary Stimson argue against even "a present declaration of future independence," making it clear that they are opposed to declaring, in terms which shall bind the nation, that independence shall be granted even after generations. They say that this is the nation's policy, but they will not let the representatives of the nation declare it. They call our policy, which is the policy proclaimed by the founders of the nation in the Declaration of Independence, and indorsed by its great leaders ever since, a policy of "scuttle." Theirs may well be termed a policy of "drift and deception."

It may well be doubted whether in President Taft and Secretary Stimson we have two independent witnesses. There is not only a coincidence of thought, but a striking coincidence of expression, as for example when both insist that any proposal for independence is a repudiation of "the heavy and difficult burden which thus far we have been bravely and consistently sustaining." It is the President who speaks, and his cabinet officer echoes his views and adopts his very language. We may hope that President Taft, whose political leadership has been repudiated so absolutely by the people, whatever they may think of his personal qualities, may not continue to influence the policy of the government. He is and has been the most active and conspicuous opponent of Philippine independence, and no candidate nominated by a great party for re-election to the Presidency was ever so overwhelmingly defeated.

Let us examine his statement and consider first "the heavy and difficult burden which thus far we have been bravely and consistently sustaining." That we spent lives and money in conquering the Philippines and wresting from them the independence, which they fondly hoped we were helping them to win, is undoubtedly true. The Philippines were not forced upon us, but we forced ourselves upon them. We bought the rotten title of Spain well knowing that the Filipinos had repudiated Spanish sovereignty and were in possession of all their country

save the city of Manila which had surrendered to the Filipino and American forces acting together. We then proceeded against the resistance of our former allies to conquer them, and to accomplish this we killed their people, ravaged and laid waste their country, and inflicted on them all the losses and sufferings which a nation with modern arms and ample resources could inflict on a weaker people.- We did what conquerors have done from the beginning of history, and the pretence that our conduct was unselfish is an insult to the intelligence of mankind. Surely this expense was not a burden which we bore in altruistic love for our "little brown brothers."

How about our expenses since. So far as these are military and naval, they are unquestionably large, but as the Transcript assures us—

"William H. Taft while governor general of the Philippines and Secretary of War was called upon to present an accounting of Philippine expenses, and then and subsequently it was found that they could not be segregated from the disbursements for general military and naval purposes."

These expenses are not incurred to protect the Islands from foreign attack, for we have been assured by the head of the Insular Bureau that in case of a war with any foreign power our troops and ships would at once be withdrawn and no attempt would be made to defend the Islands. Our troops are there, and an expense of some \$50,000,000 a year is incurred, to keep the Filipinos down, and yet our opponents assert that only a very few among them desire their independence. Is this expense incurred for their benefit? Is this altruism? If so we must revise our views and rank Russia in Poland, Austria in Italy, Spain in Mexico and Peru, high among human altruists. Were they not all striving to introduce the blessings of civilization, or a knowledge of the true faith, or some other inestimable good among their victims?

The Transcript writer says, and I quote him because his statements are typical, "Nothing could better illustrate the genuine altruism of American sovereignty than a comparison of this enormous expenditure with the splendid material benefits which it is conferring in increasing degree upon Philippine people with no substantial return benefits whatever to this country." Would not the reader suppose that all the material benefits, good roads, improved sanitation, schools, water, transportation facilities and the other vaunted fruits of our sway



were paid for by the United States? The fact is that not one dollar has come out of the American taxpayers' pocket for any of them. To quote the words of Secretary Stimson at the close of the paragraph which recapitulates the good we have done, "And the cost of all this and of the much more that has been similarly done has been borne by the Filipino people themselves." Every dollar we have spent has gone to pay for conquering and holding the islands against the will of their people. Every dollar that has been spent to improve their conditions has been paid by them. For all the alleged benefits which we claim to have conferred they owe us not a dollar. The Filipinos pay all the expenses of their government, the salaries of the Governor, the other Commissioners and all their subordinates, the expenses of teachers and schools, of roads, wells, and all other public improvements, while the railroads represent the investment of private capital made with the hope of profit. We have subdued the islanders, and then have put some five Americans in charge of the islands. They are paid large salaries even as compared with those paid in this country to public officials, and very large as compared with the means of the Filipinos; the Governor General certainly is provided with at least one residence, and if we add the cost of building and maintaining the Benguet road in order that the American officials may have cool summer residences, the mere pecuniary expense of the American government to the Filipinos has been enormous.

These five Americans have had very absolute power, have raised a large revenue from the Filipinos, and have spent it as they thought best for the interest of the people. Since the Philippine Assembly was created, no law can be passed without its consent, but it cannot legislate without the consent of the five Americans, who are the majority of the Commission which is the Upper House of the Philippine Legislature, nor has the Assembly the control of the public purse which is the usual prerogative of the popular branch in a legislature, since if it refuses in any year to pass the appropriation bills, the Commission proceeds to levy taxes and spend not according to the provisions made in the previous year but as it thinks best.

The essential fact is that the good works on which we pride ourselves are paid for by Filipino money, *and have not cost American taxpayers a dollar*. Our altruism is akin to that of a man who should take charge of his neighbor's property against his neighbor's will, take for himself a handsome salary out of



it, and spend the balance in improving his neighbor's house, or in miscellaneous charities according to his own taste. There are many of us who would cheerfully undertake such a job for Mr. Carnegie or Mr. Rockefeller. Our altruism is cheap from a financial standpoint.

How much thought we spend on Philippine problems and Philippine needs every honest man knows. We are too busy to think of them, and, therefore, our altruistic policy costs us substantially nothing in money, time or thought. Let us not forget this when we pride ourselves upon our benevolence. What the Filipinos have paid in men, women and children killed and wounded, in towns and homes destroyed, in fields laid waste, in order that American governors might collect and spend their revenue can only be suggested, but when the contributions of both peoples to this result are weighed in the scales of eternal justice, are we sure that our scale will not tip the beam? So much for "the heavy and difficult burden which thus far we have been bravely and consistently sustaining."

Two other things must be borne in mind when we measure what we have done.

First. The President and his supporters compare present conditions with what existed in 1902, when the Philippines had been subjected to nearly four years of desolating warfare in the course of which roads, bridges, towns, villages and crops of every kind had been laid waste and the flower of the Filipino youth had perished in great numbers. If they go further back they compare with conditions existing under Spanish rule, which had driven the islanders to revolt. It would be strange indeed if there had not been a marked improvement since those days.

Second. The testimony as to our good deeds comes from those who claim credit for them, from the men who have devised and are responsible for carrying out our present policy. We have their reports and listen to their assumptions, but the other side does not reach our ears. Is there a governor, a mayor, a legislator, or a boss of any kind who does not assert that his official action has been wise, honest and highly successful? What different pictures of President Taft's administration were drawn by him and by his former friend, Mr. Roosevelt. Even Lorimer, Murphy, Becker, Quay, Cox, would never be suspected of the least wrong if judged by their own statements. It is not necessary to take such extreme examples.

Take any election, national, state or municipal, and from the campaign speeches it is at least clear that the statements of officials or candidates as to their own honesty and efficiency are not unquestioned. The governor and the governed have two very different points of view, and if we would learn the truth we must hear both sides. That is what we never have done and never shall do on Philippine questions. We shall always give ready credence to the American governor, and our ears will be closed to the appeal of the governed. We refuse to believe our public men at home, but we shall trust them implicitly abroad.

But admitting that everything has been done in the Philippines which our opponents claim has been done, have we the right to say that *we* have done it? Was it necessary to kill so many men and women and to lay waste the islands, or is it necessary to hold them down at such enormous expense today in order to accomplish these results? They were our devoted friends, anxious to imitate us and to follow our example. They believed in our ideas and would have been glad to take our advice. Might not the Filipinos themselves, acting under our advice as friends instead of under our command as conquerors, have done the things that we pride ourselves upon doing? Governor Forbes has said that at first the natives thought the artesian wells were meant to poison them. If we had come as liberators and not as conquerors they would not have thus distrusted us, but having learned by the bitterest experience to believe us enemies, they cannot immediately trust us as friends. The Japanese who were to our thinking just as backward in 1850 as were the Filipinos in 1898 have made themselves the equals of the great civilized nations by their own exertions. They have had advice and instruction, but they have done their own thinking and have improved themselves without foreign masters. Can we be sure that the Filipinos, with all the men that we killed and all the property that we destroyed in conquering them, would not have been as far advanced now if we had been content to help and not to rule? Could they not have been led instead of being driven to do what is obviously for their advantage? The contrary is pure assumption. Nations always advance faster when free and independent.

The expense of our present policy has been enormous in blood and in money. It is enormous still. Is it worth while to pay so much for the assumption that the Filipino of all men on earth cannot be trusted to do for himself what is clearly beneficial?

Even if we admit that every dollar of Filipino money which has been spent has been used for good ends, is it not possible that there were other uses equally desirable for which the taxpayers would have preferred to spend it? Can we be sure that there are not, and should not those who pay have the right to decide? It was for this right that we fought the Revolution. Were we wrong? It would be an excellent thing if every child in Boston were taught to speak French, German and Spanish. He who forced them to learn it might justly say he had done a good work, but should we welcome a combination of foreign powers who took our taxes and spent them for this beneficent end, leaving other things which we had more at heart to suffer? If we were not holding the Philippines, the money spent in teaching them English might have been put into something which they need more. They only need English in order to communicate with us, and when we go the need goes too.

Let us assume, however, for the sake of the argument that we have sent out exceptionally able and wise men, that they have devoted themselves to the work of helping the Filipinos up, and that they have made no mistakes. Surely I cannot concede more.

Who will assure us that those conditions shall continue? At a time when in our own country we are insisting that our own officials, judges, mayors, governors, our own fellow-citizens, elected by us, directly exposed to public opinion, criticised in the newspapers and magazines and on the stump, cannot be trusted to do their duty honestly and well during the brief periods for which they are elected, but that our safety requires that we must have the power to recall them at pleasure—when we cannot trust our legislators even for a single year, but must have the initiative and referendum,—when the representatives of the defeated party are prophesying all sorts of evil because their opponents, men of the same blood, education and ability as themselves, are placed in power by a large vote,—when Americans will not trust Americans at home, how can we confidently assert that they can safely be trusted with absolute power over millions of aliens whom they consider inferior, ten thousand miles away, when the men whom they govern cannot displace them by their votes, when there is no public opinion which they respect to control them, no press which they fear, no initiative, no referendum, no recall? Does the “graft” which disgraces every city at home disappear in the Philip-



piners? Is this the only one of our practices that changes "under a tropic sun?" Does human experience show that the possession of absolute power over others makes man better, more honest and more considerate?

It is to such questions as this that our forefathers made answer in the Declaration of Independence, when they announced as a self-evident truth that no government should derive power from any source but the consent of the governed. It was from full knowledge of human nature and profound study of government that Lincoln spoke when he said that "no man is good enough to govern another without that other's consent." Our dealings with the Indians, our treatment of the colored man at our own doors confirm the truth of these statements. We, who cannot govern ourselves well, are of all men the least fitted to govern those whom we call inferior, because their complexions are darker than our own.

But our opponents say that the Filipinos are incapable of governing themselves. What say President Taft and Secretary Stimson, who again say substantially the same thing? I quote from the Secretary:

"In no way has the progress of the Filipino people been better shown than by their increasing participation in their own Government. Under Spanish control the native Filipinos were practically excluded from all share in public affairs. Within ten years they have been given, and now exercise, the right of electing all of their municipal officers. Native Filipinos also now compose ninety per cent of the officials and employees of the provincial governments and nearly sixty per cent of the officials and employees of the central Government. They have been given their own Assembly—the lower house of the Philippine Legislature, which is composed wholly of native members, chosen at popular election. They have representation on the Philippine Commission, which forms the upper house. They divide with Americans the direction of the various executive departments. The chief justice and two of the associate justices of the Supreme Court, about half of the judges of the higher courts and all of the justices of the peace are Filipinos. There is no branch of the Government, executive, legislative or judicial, where Filipinos are not represented in increasing numbers and where their influence is not important."

The President thinks this progress is due to "constant support and supervision at every step by Americans." This again



is assumption. This is what every leader is apt to think of his pupil's achievement, but the pupil does not always think so. Rembrandt's teachers doubtless thought that his wonderful skill came from them, but the world has never shared that opinion. Men who can govern all their towns and cities, who can show such capacity for legislation as the Philippine Assembly has shown, who fill such high judicial offices, and furnish all the inferior judges, "who divide with Americans the direction of the various executive departments," have not shown incapacity for self-government, but marked capacity. They have been trusted not over few but over many things, and no one charges that they have been found wanting. On the contrary, they are trusted more every year. The proof of their capacity might be amplified very greatly, but for present purposes the evidence of our opponents is enough. We want no better testimony than that of Mr. Stimson when he says: "There is no parallel to the material, mental and moral progress shown in these ten years of civil government by so many millions of people, held for centuries in ignorance and in effect in political and economic bondage." This is strong testimony to Filipino capacity.

But President Taft says that to confer independence upon "the Filipinos now is to subject the great mass of their people to the dominance of an oligarchical and probably exploiting minority." Where are they now? Under the domination of five oligarchs, the American commissioners, who control the legislation and the administration of the islands. This oligarchy is a stubborn fact, the Filipino "oligarchical minority" a fancy. We know the first. We imagine the second. That there will be leaders among the Filipinos is undoubtedly true, as there are leaders and "bosses" here, and the leaders, like all leaders, will be a minority of the people, but they will be men of the same blood, the same aspirations, the same traditions as their followers. The leaders and the followers will understand each other, and have common sympathies and mutual respect. This is a very different thing from the government of millions of people by five foreigners who look down upon the governed as members of an inferior race, and upon that assumption rest their right to govern. Such a relation between governor and governed cannot fail to end in disaster. As Mr. Curry, of New Mexico, who served eight years in the Philippines as governor of three provinces, chief of the Manila police, and in other capacities, has well said, "the government which the Filipinos

will establish may not be approved by the ordinary American citizen, but it will suit the Filipinos themselves," and that is the final test. The best government for any people is the government which they like. It would be difficult to find the government which ten American citizens chosen at random would unite to approve even in this country.

The argument might be prolonged indefinitely without settling the question whether the Filipinos can or cannot govern themselves. There is only one sure method of deciding it, and that is by actual trial. Let them try and see how they succeed. This is just what the bill reported by Mr. Jones undertakes to do. In substance it proposes to let the Filipinos govern themselves for eight years under the supervision of an American Governor General with adequate veto powers. If the experiment succeeds, they are to receive their independence. If it fails, independence will be postponed. Meanwhile the process of tying us closer to the islands will be stopped, for our ultimate intention to grant independence will be declared, and whoever invests in the islands will do so with full knowledge of the future. No one who knows the Filipinos can doubt that American investors will be as safe under Philippine rule as they have been in China, Japan and the many other foreign lands in which they have carried on business, but it will be impossible to say, as the Transcript has said, that "American interests, religious and commercial, have a firm foothold" in the Philippines. Can it be possible that the Christian Church claims any right to prevent Philippine independence? This may be a Spanish view of the Church's position, but is certainly not American. If commercial interests have a foothold there, and intend to insist that for their protection we must continue to govern nine million men against their consent, it behooves us to act promptly, lest more American dollars invested in the islands shall make the work of liberation more difficult. We may remind those who use this argument that all the money invested in slaves and all the vested interests that depended on its continuance were powerless to save it, and assure them that dollars are no more powerful now than then.

Why should not this experiment be tried now? The people of the islands who are most interested are not afraid to try it, and are confident that the result will prove that all the prophecies of disaster are as false as were the prophecies of those who thought that the emancipated negroes would not work, and

as are most prophecies of disaster, in case the other side wins, which are made before election by the campaign orators.

Against the prophecies of Mr. Taft let us set the words of President Schurman, the chairman of the first Philippine Commission, and a man who has not only helped to govern the islands but has been a close student of the Philippine question ever since. He cordially approves the bill and says:

"I think no honest mind can carefully and impartially study this bill without recognizing it as a great piece of constructive statesmanship. It conserves the best interests both of the people of the United States and the people of the Philippine Islands, while at the same time it expresses loyalty to their highest political ideals and aspirations."

It is approved by Judge Blount, who spent six years in the islands, two as an officer of the army that subjugated them, and four as a judge over them, and who knows the people and the conditions thoroughly. To those who talk of different tribes and a lack of national unity, he answers: "The people of these islands, whatever of conscious political unity they may have lacked in 1898, were welded into absolute oneness as a people by their original struggle for independence against us, and will remain forever so welded by their incurable aspirations for a national life of their own under a republic framed in imitation of ours. . . . The Philippine people are absolutely one people as to race, color and previous conditions." If anyone doubts the wisdom of the Jones bill, let him read the report of the Insular Committee which accompanied it, and learn what are the facts and figures which completely answer the charges of illiteracy, incompetence and racial division so freely made by those who have not studied the subject. If newspapers like the Transcript would find space for the Jones report, or even an adequate summary of the facts therein stated, were even to give as much room as it freely accords to the productions of writers who are charged with no responsibility and who are reckless in assertion, the public would see the question with very different eyes, and the opposition to the wise and just measure now pending in Congress would largely disappear. Then it would appear that more than half the Christian population over ten years old is literate, including the people of the most backward and distant settlements, that of the Tagalogs more than seventy per cent are literate, and that the uncivilized tribes are less than ten per cent of the whole



population, a far less proportion of the people than Indian savages and negro slaves formed of the population in this country when our independence was declared. Today in any of our large cities we may find a far greater variety of races, and a far greater diversity of language than can be found in the Philippines. The argument of our opponents rests upon an unscrupulous perversion of the facts, and it is not surprising that their organs close their columns to any reply.

Men say that the American control of the Philippines is "an established fact," and that whether we think it right or wrong, we must recognize it, and not quarrel with what cannot be helped. Do they mean that the control of the islands for a few years is an established fact so powerful as to overthrow all that this country has stood for since 1776? How little they have read of history, and how little they understand the true forces which control human conduct. Was there anything ever better established than human slavery in the United States, protected by the Constitution, the laws, and the support of both great political parties, including also the business men who then as now respected conditions? Happily there were some "irreconcilables," and few as they were they were too strong for all the forces that supported slavery. "Established fact!" Were there ever better established facts than the Manchu dynasty in China, the absolute power of the Shah in Persia, or the Sultan in Turkey? They were fully established when we went to the Philippines. Where are Manchu and Shah and Sultan today? England for centuries dominated Ireland, but today the people of Ireland govern England. Their votes keep the Liberal Party in power. Their votes passed the budget, their votes took the veto power from the House of Lords, and their struggle for Home Rule brings the United Kingdom almost to the verge of civil war, yet they number hardly one-tenth of the British people. The great truths of the Declaration are too powerful for established facts, and the instinct of freedom which has revolutionized China, Persia, Turkey, Portugal and Russia within a decade is too strong for the conditions which practical men recognize. There is nothing so practical as true principle, and against it no wrong can be established. Nothing is so impractical as the attempt to stamp out human nature.

The Filipinos who, relying on the promises of the Democratic party, met to celebrate its victory are described as "effervescing



islanders," and "hysterical." So might Lord North have described the meetings which made Faneuil Hall the "Cradle of Liberty." Our fathers also were "hysterical" and "effervescent," but through such labor-pains freedom is won. We should give the Filipinos little reason to trust Americans or their promises if the solemn and oft repeated promise of the Democratic Party is not kept. Why should they trust any American promise, if not this? Shall we in this matter, as in the matter of the Panama tolls, put our country "in the position of the merchant who is known to all the world to be false to his promises," to quote the words of Mr. Root?

After all, what are our opponents opposing? The proposed bill is going to give the Filipinos a chance to show their ability to govern themselves. The bill does not grant independence. It preserves our control until the Filipinos have been tried. Many of us think they are fit to govern themselves now. Others do not. The Democrats propose to determine which of us is right by actual test. If the Filipinos fail, their independence will be delayed. If they show that they can govern themselves we shall retire. Can any man brought up as an American object to this experiment? Not unless he wishes to hold the Philippines for our own advantage, which has been steadily denied. If so, let him recall what it cost this country to overturn the "established fact" of slavery, and consider whether it is worth while to establish a new slavery. Today we can free ourselves from the burden and the reproach. The longer we procrastinate the higher price we shall pay for our delay, but whatever it is, we shall pay it, for freedom is sure to win.

The President appointed as a committee to distribute, collect and count ballots for the Officers of the Anti-Imperialist League for the coming year, Messrs. Archibald M. Howe, S. R. Fuller, and Rev. W. R. Lord.

GENERAL NELSON A. MILES said in part:

Much of the opposition to the Anti-Imperialist propaganda comes from Wall Street, where they fix the amount of dividends to be wrung from the Filipinos on bonds issued upon franchises granted nominally for the public benefit, but really to put money into the pockets of the business interests.

The same influences which perpetrated cruelties against the Filipinos in the past are prompting men today to hold these people in subjection in order that citizens of the United States may advance their private enterprises among them.

When the United States interfered in the revolt of the Philippine natives against their Spanish oppressors, our troops, I am ashamed to say, prevented the Filipinos from entering the city of Manila, under the pretext that they would commit depredations. Upon whom would they have committed depredations? Upon their own homes and their own wives and children? They were kept out of the city until hostilities broke out, started by our own troops. Then the Filipinos were declared to have begun the insurrection.

Of the civil officials of the Philippines a large percentage are natives and have been during our occupation of the Islands. The Chief Justice of the Islands is a native Filipino, and American and English Judges have recognized him as one of the great jurists.

We should have the gratitude of all those people, if we said to them: We will do you justice, and we will do it at once. We should have the friendliest commercial intercourse with the Islands, and we should have a Naval station there, just as we have in Cuba. Indeed, the people of the Philippines would be as loyal and as friendly to us as are the people of Cuba today.

If the Philippines are not promised independence within the next few months, the question is likely to be postponed indefinitely.

## OFFICERS OF THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST LEAGUE.

Mr. Archibald M. Howe, for the committee to distribute, collect and count ballots reported that the following Officers of the Anti-Imperialist League for the coming year were unanimously elected.

### **PRESIDENT**

Moorfield Storey.

### **TREASURER**

David Greene Haskins, Jr.

## SECRETARY

Erving Winslow.

## EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Albert S. Parsons.  
James H. Bowditch.  
Frederick Brooks.  
Edward H. Clement.  
Charles Fleischer.

Edwin Ginn.  
Albion A. Perry.  
John Ritchie.  
Frank B. Sanborn.  
Fiske Warren

## VICE-PRESIDENTS

### ALABAMA.

Prof. Edgar B. Kay, Tuscaloosa.  
Prof. H. A. Sayre, Tuscaloosa.  
Hon. Oscar W. Underwood, Birmingham.

### ALASKA.

Martin Harrais, Esq., Chena.  
John Roman, Esq., Fairbanks.

### ARIZONA.

Frank P. Trott, Esq. Phoenix.

### ARKANSAS.

Hon. U. M. Rose, Little Rock.

### CALIFORNIA.

Rev. J. H. Crooker, Redlands.  
Mrs. Maria Freeman Gray, East Oakland.  
President David Starr Jordan, Leland Stanford Univ.  
C. F. Lummis, Esq., Los Angeles.  
H. C. Newbold, Esq., Haywards.  
Hon. Warren Olney, Oakland.  
William H. Rogers, Esq., San Jose.

### COLORADO.

Hon. Moses Hallett, Denver.  
Hon. John A. Martin, Pueblo.  
Hon. T. M. Patterson, Denver.  
Hon. John F. Shafroth, Denver.  
Hon. C. S. Thomas, Denver.

### CONNECTICUT.

Dean Henry Wade Rogers, New Haven.  
Hon. Charles F. Thayer, Norwich.

### DELAWARE.

William Canby Ferris, Esq., Wilmington.  
Hon. Richard R. Kenney, Dover.

### DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

Dr. W. A. Croffut, Washington.  
Samuel Gompers, Esq., Washington.  
Gen. Nelson A. Miles, Washington.  
Hon. Jackson H. Ralston, Washington.

### FLORIDA.

Hon. Thomas M. Shackelford, Tallahassee.

### GEORGIA.

Hon. James H. Blount, Macon.  
Hon. W. H. Fleming, Augusta.  
Gen. James Gadsden Holmes, Macon.  
Hon. Peter W. Meldrim, Savannah.  
Hon. Hoke Smith, Atlanta.

### IDAHO.

Hon. Simon P. Donnelly, Lakeview.

### ILLINOIS.

Miss Jane Addams, Chicago.  
Hon. Edward Osgood Brown, Chicago.  
Francis F. Browne, Esq., Chicago.  
Prof. Starr Willard Cutting, Chicago.  
Prof. William E. Dodd, Chicago.  
Frederick W. Gookin, Esq., Chicago.  
Prof. William Gardner Hale, Chicago.  
Prof. Ira W. Howerth, Chicago.  
Rev. Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Chicago.  
Rev. Alonzo K. Parker, Chicago.  
Dr. William Morton Payne, Chicago.  
Louis F. Post, Esq., Chicago.  
Mrs. Alice Thacher Post, Chicago.  
Mrs. Edwin Burritt Smith, Chicago.  
Prof. Frederick Starr, Chicago.  
Charles M. Sturges, Esq., Chicago.  
Prof. A. H. Tolman, Chicago.  
Sigmund Zeisler, Esq., Chicago.

### INDIANA.

Hon. Cyrus Cline, Angola.  
Hon. H. U. Johnson, Richmond.

### IOWA.

Hon. Horace Boies, Waterloo.  
Hon. Cato Sells, Vinton.  
Hon. Henry Vollmer, Davenport.

### KANSAS.

Hugh P. Farrelly, Esq., Chanute.

### KENTUCKY.

James G. Howard, Esq., Lock.  
Stephen D. Parrish, Esq., Richmond.

## LOUISIANA.

Prof. James Hardy Dillard, New Orleans.

## MAINE.

President George C. Chase, Lewiston.  
Dr. Seth C. Gordon, Portland.  
Hon. Luther F. McKinney, Bridgton.

## MARYLAND.

Hon. John V. LeMoyne, Baltimore.  
Hon. George L. Wellington, Cumberland,

## MASSACHUSETTS.

Magnus W. Alexander, Esq., Lynn.  
Rev. A. A. Berle, Cambridge.  
Samuel Bowles, Jr., Esq., Cambridge.  
Col. C. R. Codman, Brookline.  
Rev. C. F. Dole, Boston.  
Prof. Garrett Droppers, Williamstown.  
Thomas B. Fitzpatrick, Esq., Boston.  
Francis J. Garrison, Esq., Lexington.  
Rev. Edward M. Gushee, Cambridge.  
President G. Stanley Hall, Worcester.  
Hon. J. M. Head, Boston.  
Hon. Roger Sherman Hoar, Concord.  
Prof. Lewis J. Johnson, Cambridge.  
Hon. George W. Kelley, Rockland.  
Henry W. Lamb, Esq., Brookline.  
Hon. Samuel W. McCall, Winchester.  
Edwin D. Mead, Esq., Boston.  
Mrs. Lucia Ames Mead, Boston.  
Hon. R. M. Morse, Boston.  
James P. Munroe, Esq., Boston.  
Gen. Francis A. Osborn, Boston.  
Miss Emily L. Osgood, Lincoln.  
Hon. Herbert C. Parsons, Greenfield.  
Hon. Josiah Quincy, Boston.  
Dr. Francis H. Rowley, Boston.  
Dr. Patrick J. Timmins, Boston.  
Rev. W. H. van Allen, Boston.  
Hon. Winslow Warren, Dedham.

## MICHIGAN.

Charles S. Hampton, Esq., Detroit.  
Charles Humphrey, Esq., Adrian.  
Rev. Jabez T. Sunderland, Detroit.  
Rt. Rev. Charles D. Williams, Detroit.

## MINNESOTA.

Frederick G. Corser, Esq., Minneapolis.  
Hon. John Lind, Minneapolis.

## MISSISSIPPI.

Hon. John S. Williams, Yazoo City.

## MISSOURI.

John P. Herrmann, Esq., St. Louis.

## MONTANA.

Massena Bullard, Esq., Helena.  
Andrew Dunsire, Esq., Kalispell.  
Edward Scharnikow, Esq., Deer Lodge.

## NEBRASKA.

A. J. Sawyer, Esq., Lincoln.  
Rt. Rev. Arthur S. Williams, Omaha

## NEVADA.

Dr. J. J. Sullivan, Virginia City.

## NEW HAMPSHIRE.

Hon. Henry F. Hollis, Concord.

## NEW JERSEY.

Ralph W. E. Donges, Esq., Camden.  
Hon. Eugene F. Kinkead, Jersey City.  
Hon. Francis E. Woodruff, Morristown.

## NEW YORK.

Everett V. Abbot, Esq., New York.  
Rev. Richard W. Boynton, Buffalo.  
Andrew Carnegie, Esq., New York.  
R. Fulton Cutting, Esq., New York.  
Charles Stewart Davison, Esq., New York.  
Prof. John Dewey, New York.  
Col. Patrick Ford, New York.  
Austen G. Fox, Esq., New York.  
Henry W. Haddon, Esq., New York.  
Henry Hentz, Esq., New York.  
William Dean Howells, Esq., New York.  
Prof. Jacques Loeb, New York.  
Hon. Thomas Mott Osborne, Auburn.  
Rev. C. H. Parkhurst, New York.  
Mrs. Fanny Garrison Villard, Dobbs Ferry.  
Oswald Garrison Villard, New York.

## NORTH CAROLINA.

Josephus Daniels, Esq., Raleigh.  
President L. L. Hobbs, Guilford.

## NORTH DAKOTA.

A. C. Reinecke, Esq., Fargo.

## OHIO.

John H. Clarke, Esq., Cleveland.  
Hon. John J. Lentz, Columbus.  
Hon. Rufus B. Smith, Cincinnati.  
Edward Stang, Esq., Cincinnati.  
Charles B. Wilby, Esq., Cincinnati.

## OKLAHOMA.

Dr. D. H. Patton, Woodward.



## OREGON.

James Hennessy Murphy, Esq., Portland.  
H. B. Nicholas, Esq., Portland.  
Col. C. E. S. Wood, Portland.

## PENNSYLVANIA.

Joseph Fels, Esq., Philadelphia.  
Dr. W. Horace Hoskins, Philadelphia.  
Hon. Alfred H. Love, Philadelphia.  
Mickle C. Paul, Esq., Philadelphia.  
Frank Stephens, Esq., Philadelphia.  
Dr. Robert Ellis Thompson, Philadelphia.  
Herbert Welsh, Esq., Philadelphia.

## RHODE ISLAND.

Hon. Lucius F. C. Garvin, Lonsdale.  
Edwin C. Pierce, Esq., Providence.

## SOUTH CAROLINA.

Wile Jones, Esq., Columbia.  
Hon. James Simons, Charleston.

## SOUTH DAKOTA.

Hon. Levi McGee, Rapid City.  
Joseph B. Moore, Esq., Lead.  
Hon. Richard F. Pettigrew, Sioux Falls.

## TENNESSEE.

Hon. John Wesley Gaines, Nashville.

## TEXAS.

Frederick Opp, Esq., Lilano.  
Hon. James L. Slayden, San Antonio.

## UTAH.

P. J. Daly, Esq., Salt Lake City.

## VERMONT.

Major F. W. Childs, Brattleboro.  
Rev. Charles H. Pennoyer, Springfield.

## VIRGINIA.

President Paul B. Barringer, Blackburg.  
President George H. Denny, Lexington.

## WASHINGTON.

C. G. Heifner, Esq., Seattle.

## WEST VIRGINIA.

Hon. A. S. Johnston, Union.  
Hon. John E. Stealey, Clarksburg.

## WISCONSIN.

William George Bruce, Esq., Milwaukee.

## WYOMING.

Hon. John C. Hamm, Cheyenne.

## REMARKS BY THE HON. MANUEL L. QUEZON.

The HON. MANUEL L. QUEZON said that he was not going to make an elaborate speech on this occasion; that the Anti-Imperialist League as well as the American people knew his views on the subject of Philippine independence, which are the views of the Filipino people of today, and that he would leave to Mr. Kalaw, a young Filipino, educated and reared under American sovereignty, to say what he and his generation, the Filipinos of tomorrow, feel and think about American rule.

"But," Mr. Quezon continued, "before giving the floor to Mr. Kalaw, I feel like saying something touching President Taft's message to Congress of the 6th of December last, dealing with the Philippine question. I shall not go into details at this time in discussing this part of the presidential message, for I hope to do this at some future date on the floor of the

House of Representatives. I merely wish to call your attention to the fact that I could not have found better materials in support of my contention that the Filipinos should be independent than the facts mentioned in this message. Of course the President states views which are thoroughly at variance with mine; but he gives no facts to support his views, and, on the contrary, the grounds on which he bases his contention are most telling against his own position.

He states, for instance, that great progress has been made in the Philippines along educational, industrial and political lines. What is the reason, may I ask, for this success, except that you have found in the Philippines a people that are eager for education, that are industrious and have theoretical and practical knowledge of political rights and duties?

The President characterizes the Jones Bill that provides for Philippine independence as a revolutionary measure. There is nothing revolutionary in this bill. It meets frankly and loyally the Philippine problem according to American ideals and in consonance with the aspirations of the Filipino people. It grants independence not upon the passage of the bill but within a certain future time. Independence as a final outcome of the American policy in the Islands is not a new or revolutionary proposition, but the consensus of the American people ever since you took possession of the Islands. The provisions of the bill that are of immediate effect are but the proper next step to be taken in liberalizing the present government. The Jones Bill in reality introduces at once only one change in the present government of the Philippines, to wit: the election of the upper house, now appointed by the President of the United States, by the people. Today the lower house is already elective and has been elected by the people for the last six years. The success of this native body has been admitted by the strongest opponents of Philippine independence, and it justifies fully the assumption that the Filipino people if given the entire power of legislation could execute it successfully and for the best interest of the public.

The President states that progress in education and other improvements will slip back in the event of the passage of the Jones Bill. This is a baseless conclusion. As a matter of fact it has been possible for the United States government to establish schools and to build roads simply because the people are anxious to have these things done and are paying for them.

These improvements are not only supported by the revenue of the Philippine government, but by voluntary contributions as well."

## REMARKS BY SENOR MAXIMO M. KALAW.

Mr. Storey, Ladies and Gentlemen:

While I was in the Philippines, I heard so much of the work of the Anti-Imperialist League in behalf of the Filipinos and have felt such a deep feeling of gratitude to this organization, that at the present moment it is hard for me to believe that I am really among those men and women who have so valiantly and disinterestedly fought for the independence of my country. In thus extending to you my appreciation of the noble efforts which you have been making for the Philippines, I wish to be taken as representing the views of the younger generation of Filipinos—of those young men and women who have been taught in the public schools established by the American government, who speak and write English, and whose future has been so often pictured in the most roseate colors by the staunchest champions of imperialism.

The enemies of Philippine independence still cling to their old theory of Filipino incapacity. But they themselves are the first to admit that during these years of American occupation the Islands have made great progress. The lengthy reports of American officials, from the President down to the Chief of the Bureau of Insular Affairs, from the Governor General of the Philippines down to the head of a Philippine department, attest this fact. They point out to you the spread of popular education, the progressive changes in the ideas of the people, the formation of strong national feelings, coupled with the improvements of roads, health conditions and so forth. Then they tell you of the tremendous work done by the present administration in effecting this change, and of the meritorious labors of American officials in the Islands. But whatever coloring they may put into these reports, the salient fact still remains that this progress has been achieved through the co-operation of the Filipino people. The government cannot do everything; the people must do the greater part. Progress does not come from without; it originates from within. The transformation of Japan is not the work of Occidental elements, but mainly

the work of the Japanese people themselves. While nobody can justly rob the American officials of the honors they have won in serving their country in the Philippines, the plain, honest truth still is that the Philippines have progressed mainly because the Filipinos have been progressive.

Now, it will be interesting to know the why of this progressive spirit shown by the Filipinos during the last few years. Peoples, like individuals, work for the realization of their ideals. With guns and cannons the Filipinos in vain fought for their freedom. With the torch of knowledge, with the implements of peace, they are still struggling for their independence. Unlike other subject peoples whose political ideals have faded away with the laying down of their arms, the Filipinos have entrusted them to the American nation. They have confided in the American people. They earnestly believed that this great republic can never be untrue to its deep-rooted traditions; they hoped that after the bitterness of the war had passed away and calmer judgment prevailed, their claim for independence would be soon considered and decided in the light of American traditions and principles. This belief has been strengthened and fortified by the constant protestations of altruism and benevolence made by American statesmen. The Filipinos have given their full support to the present government because they were led to believe that the greater the support they give to it the sooner they would be granted their independence. They have always considered themselves a people capable of guiding their own destiny; found guilty of incapacity without a trial. Very well! They submitted to this fate. But they made the effort to show the world that this contention is wrong. And, as if to vindicate themselves, they produced a Philippine Assembly which has made a record worthy of a place with the record of other legislative bodies of longer experience; they have been running the provincial and municipal governments in the most satisfactory manner; they have produced statesmen like Mr. Osmena and Mr. Quezon, admired by both Americans and Filipinos, and jurists like Mr. Arellano, a legal light of more than local fame. 600,000 children are attending the public schools, and probably another hundred thousand are sheltered in the private schools. And the spirit that pervades all this is their longing for freedom and their faith in the American nation.

In the meanwhile, the Filipinos see their cause gaining



ground in the United States. The American people are getting more acquainted with the Filipinos. The notion that they are pirates, barbarians, and savages is drifting away from their minds. The party which has been pleading for independence in three successive campaigns is now in power. Their fate will be soon decided by Congress when they discuss the independence bill introduced last year. At this crucial moment, the Filipinos need the help of all their friends. They are glad to see that the members of the Anti-Imperialist League are as enthusiastic as ever. But the enemies of their freedom are likewise busy with their time-worn arguments, their hackneyed theory of incapacity, their prophetic warning of a cessation of progress and development if the Filipinos were left alone to manage their own affairs. Have they ever stopped to think that if their plan be followed of negating the independence proposition and leaving us to uncertainty which will probably mean "never," what they fear would happen under a free Philippine government, is what is likely to happen? Has it never occurred to them that to doom the Filipinos to disappointment, to annihilate their hope for independence, is to give a death-blow to their progressive spirit, to administer a quietus to their buoyant enthusiasm kindled by their desire to be free?

On the other hand, is it not more logical to believe that since the Filipinos have developed such a wonderful growth during the last few years, inspired by their faith in the American people and by their desire to be free, so much the greater will be their development if they were granted what they desire and allowed to assume their rights among the other nations of the globe? How much more rapid will be their progress if you leave them to work in a free atmosphere, where they can say to themselves, "We are masters of our own destiny, nobody claims sovereignty over us!" To use the phrase of Judge Blount in his wonderful book, this condition would electrify the Filipino body politic and inspire them to labor more ardently for their own prosperity and happiness. If you sympathize with their cause, if you recognize their rights as a people, if you promise them independence in four or eight years, you will infuse a new life into their veins, you will witness a redoubling of their energies in their manifold activities, in agriculture, industry and government. Great as is their love for education now, you will still find a greater demand for enlightenment. Even the humblest peasant from the obscurest village of the Archipelago

will say, "I will send my boy to school. He may some day be the president of the Philippine Republic!"

MR. FRANK B. SANBORN said:

I wish to make a suggestion, not a motion, for there may be some objection, unknown to me, to such a vote. It is this: that the President will procure the insertion of the speeches we have had today in the unbelieving Boston Transcript, even if it requires payment for the publication of facts and truth, instead of the sophistries and misrepresentations of despotic power.

At the close of the Meeting PRESIDENT MOORFIELD STOREY said:

As I listened to the speech of Senor Kalaw I could not help being reminded of a passage which must be familiar to you all, for every boy who ever declaimed a piece in school knows it: "Set before them the glorious object of entire independence and it will breathe into them anew the breath of life," and with your permission I will add a few more words. Mr. George W. Cable was lunching with me the other day, and speaking of a recent experience in Mississippi said that the roads there had three dimensions, length, breadth and depth, and that the breadth was the least. When I hear men giving as a reason for retaining the Philippine Islands that there are still bad roads in the Islands, and there are still towns and villages which have no proper means of communication with the centers, I cannot help wondering how generally these conditions exist in the United States, and whether the bad roads and lack of proper communication which notoriously exist all over this country are reasons for taking away the right of self-government over the communities thus afflicted. It is possible that if we were to take the fifty million dollars a year which we spend in holding the Philippine Islands, and apply it to remedying these difficulties at home, the money would be more wisely expended.

325.373

Am 8\*

v. 15

You are earnestly asked to hand this, after reading, to some other person who will also give it careful consideration.

# REPORT

OF THE

## Fifteenth Annual Meeting

OF THE

## Anti-Imperialist League

NOVEMBER 29, 1913

AND ITS ADJOURNMENT

DECEMBER 8, 1913

---

PUBLISHED BY  
THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST LEAGUE  
BOSTON

22313

Qm 84

51

# REPORT

Fiftieth Annual Meeting

Anti-Infectious Disease

1905

1905

1905

1905



# REPORT

---

The Annual Meeting of the Anti-Imperialist League Nov. 29th, 1913, was adjourned to Dec. 8, 1913, when it was prefaced by a luncheon at the rooms of the Twentieth Century Club, 3 Joy Street, President Moorfield Storey presiding.

## INVOCATION BY THE REV. A. A. BERLE, D. D.

Almighty God our Father who art in Heaven, we give Thee thanks for the love of liberty and the practice of freedom which are the permanent hope and heritage of mankind. We give Thee thanks for the noble men, living and dead, who have steadily kept before the eyes of the world this enduring hope and who in dark days and bright days have held to the faith that was in them and pleaded the cause of human freedom at home and abroad. We thank Thee for the promise of the fulfillment of their prayers and hopes and the rising tide of liberty throughout the world.

We ask Thy blessing upon Thy servant the President of the United States, praying that he may have the courage, wisdom, insight and power to administer impartial justice, at home and abroad, to those who need his protection: That his health may be precious in Thy sight and he may be, with all in authority, the instrument for the spread of liberty. Accept, we pray Thee, our thanks for those tokens of encouragement by which our hearts are cheered in the gathering today, and make us wise custodians of the truth that we may pass it on, unimpaired, to the generation following. Hear us as we pray as our Master has taught us to pray:

Our Father who art in Heaven hallowed be Thy name; Thy Kingdom come; Thy will be done on earth as it is in Heaven; Give us this day our daily bread; and forgive us our trespasses as we have forgiven those that trespass against us; and lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil; for Thine is the Kingdom and the Power and the Glory, forever and ever. Amen.

## REPORT OF THE SECRETARY.

Mr. President and Colleagues:

Every occasion of great joy to mankind has its serious undertone. And certainly mere exultation does not befit a triumphal epoch in a great cause such as no humble human efforts could have reached,—however earnest and prolonged. We must be indeed overwhelmed rather, in view of what is fairly reckoned as the “beginning of our end,”—Philippine independence, with a sense of short-comings, of failures in judgment and in temper—of our own unworthiness, which may sometimes have hindered rather than helped forward the divinely inevitable establishment of right and justice;—as we gratefully say today: “What hath God wrought!”

And it is with a serious mind likewise, before repeating to you some of the birthday greetings, which living voices are exchanging among us, we recall that “we also are compassed about with so great a cloud of witnesses.” As the hearts of the faithful are lifted up with memory of past and with hope for future blessings, by the recitation in their sanctuaries of saintly names, let us call the roll of our departed “shining ones” that we may rejoice with trembling but with high resolve, inspired by such exemplars to run with patience the race that is before us, to the end.

George Sewall Boutwell:

first President of the group of our founders (*primus inter pares*) upon whose like we shall not look again.

Francis Ellingwood Abbot,

Edward Atkinson,

Gamaliel Bradford,

Francis Fisher Browne,

Donelson Caffery,

John Griffin Carlisle,

Theodore Ledyard Cuyler,

Patrick Ford,

Benjamin Harrison,

Thomas Wentworth Higginson,

George Frisbie Hoar,

William James,

Abby Adeline Manning,

George Gluyas Mercer,  
Charles Eliot Norton,  
Patrick O'Farrell,  
William Jackson Palmer,  
Mary Pickering,  
Hazen Smith Pingree,  
Horatio Potter,  
Emil Preetorius,  
Thomas Brackett Reed,  
Carl Schurz,  
George Frederick Seward,  
John Sherman,  
Edwin Burritt Smith,  
William Graham Sumner,  
John Joseph Valentine.  
Hermann von Holst and  
Grover Cleveland,

who being dead yet speaketh, in words that are being fulfilled  
in our ears:

January 12, 1903.

2862016 Dredg. v. 13 cut  
"I have never hesitated to condemn the entire expansion  
business from beginning to end. Perhaps it may be remem-  
bered that I opposed the suppression of the Hawaiian govern-  
ment, and prevented the annexation of the Island as long as I  
remained President . . . When a large number of the voters  
of the land feel this question it will be dealt with as a party  
issue in something more than a perfunctory way. In the mean-  
time and in anticipation of that period the anti-imperialists  
should formulate in plain, distinct terms, just what in its pres-  
ent condition they claim the government should do with and  
for the Philippine people and this should be a proposition that  
will wear."

Let us pass on to some of the good words of our absent col-  
leagues and friends testifying to their feeling today, when  
our great question is at last dealt with as a party issue.

Sir William Wedderburn, England:

Please accept my hearty congratulations on the declaration  
regarding Filipino independence, reported in your welcome  
letter, with its inclosure. The result of their labours must in-  
deed be gratifying to the members of the Anti-Imperialist



League. It is also a great encouragement to those who desire self-government for India that Dr. Wilson's government should have given so notable an example of unselfishness in world politics. We must do our best to urge the British people to follow a lead which has come at a most opportune time.

Hon. W. J. Bryan, Secretary of State, Nebraska:

Give my compliments to the members of the Anti-Imperialist League and express to them my gratification at this country's declaration of its intention to ultimately grant independence to the Filipinos. Had this promise been made in the beginning it would have saved enormous expenditures and prevented foreign misconception of our Nation's purpose. The President has rendered a signal service to the country in promising this independence to the Filipinos. Your Society is to be commended for its devotion to this purpose and it is to be congratulated on the victory that has been won.

Hon. Josephus Daniels, Secretary of the Navy, North Carolina:

It was demonstrated by the clash of arms that this Nation could not be half slave and half free. It is equally impossible for it to be part self-governing and part colonial. Wherever men read the Declaration of Independence and imbibe with the teachings of Jefferson, they will aspire to the right to govern themselves. The highest duty of our Republic is to be not only the beacon but the friend of all whose desires are toward liberty, equality and independence.

I have long thought that the American policy in the Philippines was contrary to the spirit of American institutions, and, in common with all others who look to the hastening of the time when the Filipinos shall govern their own country, I was gratified at the appointment of Hon. Francis Burton Harrison as Governor General. His record incarnates the attitude of anti-imperialists and his instructions show the earnest desire of the administration in Washington to lead the Filipinos into the ways of safe and efficient self-government at a time that will best conserve their welfare.

Rev. Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Illinois:

May I rejoice with you over the encouraging evidence that the United States is at last in the way of redeeming its lost democracy by restoring to the conquered people of the Philippines that self-government which has been bought at so great



a price in the United States, which is the laudable ambition of all people, and the due of all self-directing and self-respecting people? "Possessions," "Dependencies," "Conquered Territory," "Dependent People" are words that have no place in the dictionary of democracy. I hope that the work so well begun by President Wilson will be carried to a successful issue, and it is the duty of all those who hate tyranny and distrust imperialism to do everything in their power to uphold the President's hands and hasten the fruition through proper legislation.

Hon. Cyrus Cline, Representative, Indiana:

I give my warmest endorsement to any step looking to the "end of the beginning" of our cause. I have the fullest faith in the new Governor-General. Let no advocate of ultimate Philippine Independence slacken in his efforts to liberate this people, now held in violation of every basis of American Liberty.

Hon. Francis E. Woodruff, New Jersey:

Especially for those who have taken part in the struggle for the right since the very inception of the Philippine question it is an unexampled pleasure to feel that at last we are at the "beginning of the end." For if during the coming regular session President and Congress will join in the national pledge of ultimate independence called for by the Democratic platform, and in the Jones bill, instead of the "fixed date" which is violently opposed, there is substituted a "fixed requirement" (such as maintenance of law and order for one or more years), which would be less opposed and would in effect be equally binding in the United States, then "La Independencia" will surely very, very quickly, as nations go, have become an accomplished fact.

Andrew Carnegie, Esq., New York:

I beg to state that there are in my opinion encouraging signs of wise policy being pursued in the Philippines hereafter.

Prof. Jacques Loeb, Rockefeller Institute, New York:

It goes without saying that every lover of freedom and justice will be delighted with the new course in the Philippines. I hope the time will come when the suppression of the weak among nations and social groups will be impossible.

Henry W. Lamb, Esq., Mass.:

The Philippine policy of the new administration accords with both wisdom and justice and it is noticeable that the objections raised against it in certain quarters arouse no popular response. The Anti-Imperialist League has done well to keep its cause alive before the American people.

Pres. G. Stanley Hall, Clark University, Worcester, Mass.:

The steps that the new administration of our national government under President Wilson has already taken, looking toward self-government and the evident disposition to go further in that direction in the Philippines, fills me with sincere satisfaction. The steps already taken in themselves are certainly sources of congratulation, whether or not they issue in complete autonomy of the islands.

Pres. Robert Ellis Thompson, Central High School, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania:

I rejoice to know that the next annual meeting of our League will be an occasion for rejoicing over the progress of the cause of national righteousness. But the League must not relax its efforts until the last American soldier has quitted the shores of the Philippines. There are still great perils surrounding the Filipino people and President Wilson will not always be at the head of our affairs. National vanity and individual greed will still suggest the retention of the island under our rule. But "its the first step that costs," and that first step has been taken.

Rev. A. A. Berle, Mass.:

We have a right to be happy because after all these years our cause is seen to be the only way out.

William Canby Ferris, Delaware:

Allow me to congratulate my comrades of The Anti-Imperialist League on the fresh impulse which our movement has received from the fact that at last a worthy successor of Thomas Jefferson and Andrew Jackson has become President of The United States of America. A man of crystal sincerity; he has told the country what he intends to do and so far no act of his has shown that he is either weak or insincere. A man of straightforwardness and tenacity of purpose; every act and every appointment of his has been a fulfillment of his

openly declared purpose. Inheriting from his predecessors the incubus of a conquered province and the necessity of governing by military force a people deprived of the right to govern themselves; he has shown that no sophistry can blind him to the treason to our own Constitution and Republican form of Government involved in using our own army and navy to rule a foreign and alien race, against their own will and in spite of their efforts to escape from our control. Although revolution is in the air, and the situation is one of immense difficulty, the future is radiant with hope for the Anti-Imperialists; and for the sincere believers in the right and the ability of the people to rule themselves.

Hon. James L. Slayden, Representative, Texas:

Do you feel as happy as I do over the fact that the goal for which we have been striving since 1899 is in sight?

We have survived the epithets, "little Americans," "Scuttlers" and so on, and have kept our self-respect, have adhered steadfastly to a high purpose and now have the administration with us.

The House will certainly stand by the policy of independence for the Filipinos and I hope that the Senate will. On one point I am very clear, and that is, if at any time in the last fourteen years the Congress could have voted on this question, dissociated absolutely from partisan politics, a resolution to grant the Philippines complete independence would have carried with an overwhelming vote.

Let us get the question properly presented now and, possibly, we may have a spontaneous, non-partisan recognition of the American doctrine that just government is only possible with the consent of the governed.

Judge Edward Osgood Brown, Illinois:

I heartily felicitate the Anti-Imperialist League upon the declared policy of the present national administration in regard to the Philippines and upon the excellent appointments which give proof of the earnest and sincere intentions of that administration to carry out this policy.

The lane has had a turning nearer than I expected a year ago. I think our prayers have been heeded and our country is turning back to its early ideals of liberty.



Hon. John A. Martin, Former Representative, Colorado:

I am still deeply interested in the Philippine question and am keeping informed as to developments. I was particularly pleased with the appointment of Francis Burton Harrison as Governor General, because I know by association with him that he is in favor of independence as soon as practicable and that meanwhile he will advocate and put into execution, measures tending to fit the Filipinos for and experience them in self-government. I was also pleased with the declaration of President Wilson's Philippine policy made through Mr. Harrison when he assumed the office of Governor General. During the latter part of my stay in Congress and when it became apparent that there would probably be a change of party administrations in Washington, I had reasons to fear that our performances would not nearly measure up to our promises, but this danger would appear to be past and we would appear now to be on firm ground upon the proposition of the neutralization and independence of the Philippine Archipelago. I congratulate the Anti-Imperialist League upon the great progress toward this end already made and its steadfast adherence to this principle through a long period of opposition. It has kept the light burning which shineth more and more unto the perfect day.

Wishing the League ultimate complete realization of its great purpose to keep this great Republic true to its fundamental principles and best traditions.

Prof. Jackson H. Ralston, George Washington University,  
Washington, D. C.:

We are bound to believe that under the present administration the unholy bonds uniting this country with the Philippine Islands will pass gradually but surely, the Filipinos being given an opportunity to rule themselves without alien interference while the Americans will demonstrate that they have sufficient sense of justice and self-control to remedy wrongs committed by them.

Sigmund Zeisler, Esq., Illinois:

For fifteen years, in season and out of season, The Anti-Imperialist League has preached the eternal truth that government, to be just, must derive its powers from the consent of the governed, and that self-government is better than good



government; has insisted that to impose our rule upon dependencies is not reconcilable with the traditions and principles of the American people; has ceaselessly watched and frequently criticised American rule in the Philippines and thereby diminished, if not prevented, exploitation and abuse of power; has aroused our people to a realization of the crime not less than the folly of our horribly expensive experiment in colonial government; has furnished the friends of liberty in Congress with ammunition of facts and arguments; has driven the loud-mouthed champions of the original Philippine program to take the defensive. Its views have become the views of the overwhelming majority of the people, and what it has been clamoring for these fifteen years has become the policy of the National Administration, with the result that the day of freedom and independence of the Philippines is dawning.

The Anti-Imperialist League has certainly justified its existence, and I sincerely congratulate it upon its achievement.

Prof. George Herbert Palmer, Harvard College, Cambridge, Mass.:

I want to rejoice with you and all who have been insisting on justice to the Philippines, that President Wilson has taken so considerable, yet cautious, a step toward the independence of the islands and ourselves.

Waldo R. Browne, Esq., Editor of the "Dial," Chicago, Illinois:

I trust that it is not too late, in connection with the League's annual meeting, to offer my hearty felicitations on the promises in the political sky of an early fulfillment of the League's noble work during many years past on behalf of justice to the Filipinos. Even those not actively associated with the League can realize something of the great difficulty of that work, and how dark the prospect of ultimate success must often have seemed. It represents a struggle comparable only with the efforts of the early Abolitionists, and will take its place in history by the side of the Abolitionist movement. At this time, when the sought-for end is at last in sight, it is the duty of every liberty-loving American to express to the officers and executive committee of the League something at least of the debt of pride and honor that he must feel in their achievement.

Hon. Andrew J. Peters, Representative, Mass.:

I am writing you a word of congratulation on the very

pleasant prospect for those who are interested in the welfare of the Philippines. I have served with Mr. Harrison in the House for several years, and for the last three years have been on the same committee with him. He is bringing to the problems of the Islands the highest ideals and greatest courage.

Hon. Samuel W. McCall, Former Representative, Mass.:

The administration is making a good practical beginning on the problem of self-government in the Philippines by giving the people a more enlarged part in their government. Of course one cannot very well learn to walk unless he is at least given the chance to try to creep. I think the policy as embodied in the neutralization resolution drawn in substance by Mr. Storey and introduced by me in the House of Representatives contains the wise solution of the problem.

Hon. James Schonler, Mass.:

I heartily rejoice with you over the initial step just taken by President Wilson to give to the patient people of the Philippines that right of self-rule to which nature and their own intelligence entitled them.

I have from the very outset been utterly hostile to the national policy assumed towards those islands at the close of the Spanish war and my opposition has been freely expressed upon every opportunity.

In my own mind the main issue has been, of late, not when and how these distant inhabitants of another race might be concluded capable, as our obedient pupils, of self-government and the regulation of their own affairs under our tuition, but, rather, when and how we might ourselves, without degradation or dishonor, retreat from a false experiment of interference assumed in a distant hemisphere, so as to become once more, in fact and example, as well as in name, the United States of America.

Prof. James Hardy Dillard, Director John F. Slater Fund,  
Charlottesville, Virginia:

I beg to congratulate you for the good work which has been done through our Anti-Imperialist League. I am sure that all who believe in freedom and in the doctrine that true freedom can only be attained by freedom, are rejoicing in the advances toward a true policy in the Philippines.

Prof. Lewis J. Johnson, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.:

I am glad to share in the League's pleasure in what seems like a genuine attempt to bring our Philippine policy into harmony with our American traditions regarding the necessity of consent of the governed as justification for government.

E. G. Kohnstamm, Esq., New York:

As a consistent and "original" Anti-Imperialist who has been pessimistic of the success of what would appear to be a great national cause but which has been kept alive only by five or ten earnest, indomitable men, backed by a few handfuls of sympathisers, I wish to express my gratification at the now probable success of the cause. My voice and pen have never had the power or ability to express my feelings at what appeared to me to be our treachery to our allies, the Filipinos in the Spanish-American war. I can only express it by saying that all my feelings were outraged, and the sentiment that this was the Land of the Free and the Home of the Brave, and the Flag was the Emblem of Liberty and Freedom, were ruthlessly shattered, and I certainly came to consider the cause lost when I found myself listened to by friends with the sympathetic attention given to one who is considered "little off at the top," or who is preaching temperance in a beer garden. The salvation of the cause was in fact that political parties have to take opposite sides so the platitude, the Philippines for the Filipinos that probably few of the delegates, except Bryan ever believe in, came to be a plank in the Democratic party platform.

That is the only reason they got my vote at the last election. It may still be too early to shout that the victory is won, but the leaders of the Anti-Imperialist League are to be congratulated. May they all live to see the Philippines free and their people proving to the world that the A. I. L. was right in their estimate of them.

I go so far as to say I would rather they exterminate each other than that we, with our preaching and traditions, should hold them as a subject people. When the Filipino people put up monuments, commemorative of the success of their cause, the officers of the A. I. L. should have the first and greatest.

Prof. Albert H. Tolman, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois:

President Wilson has wisely decided to do something more



than talk about future self-government for the Filipinos. He has given them a substantial installment, and set our feet firmly upon the path leading thereto. Liberty enlightening the world is again an American ideal. All honor to our President!

It is now half a generation since the young Filipino republic was done to death by the United States. The sad story should never be forgotten. Thank God for the Filipinos! Their unconquerable love of freedom has fairly forced us to admit their right to have it. They have been true to American principles when America herself was not. We have tried to bribe them in every way by the promise of greater wealth and material prosperity if they would abate something of their demand for self-government, but without avail. They have been entirely unwilling to develop beyond the simple thought of Ralph Waldo Emerson:

“For what avail the plough or sail,  
Or land or life, if freedom fail?”

I have faith that there will be no backward step upon the path leading to self-government for the Filipinos. As the poet farther tells us:

“For he that worketh high and wise,  
Nor pauses in his plan,  
Will take the sun out of the skies  
Ere freedom out of man.”

Archibald M. Howe, Esq., Mass.:

I think it worth while to encourage any advance made by our Government towards giving Filipinos the right to try self-government.

Whatever the past wickedness and folly of military and civil governors who attempted “benevolent assimilation” either by sheer force of arms or with a mixture of official dictation and supervised philanthropic pseudo-democracy it must now begin to dawn upon the thoughtful that Senator Hoar was right in asserting that the United States should have recognized as an independent government any existing political organization republican in form having power to execute however imperfectly its enactment, and that there were and now are leaders and patriots among the Filipinos able to sustain a government.

Rev. Stephen H. Taft, California:

I never voted a democratic ticket in the sixty-seven years



I have been a voter. But I have to say that next to Lincoln President Wilson is giving to our nation a moral prestige equalled by no other President.

His Philippine policy has my fullest approval.

It is cause for profound gratitude that we have an administration which refuses to be controlled by the money power.

Hon. Horace Boies, Former Governor, Iowa:

I assure you I am as grateful as you can be that a definite policy of this great nation to insure the freedom of the Philippine Islands has finally been adopted and the dishonor of our people in their dealings with so weak a nation is finally to end.

To our noble President all honor is due for the part he is taking in this act of simple justice between nation and nation, and I want to join with you and every friend of national honor in hearty approval of what he is doing.

Henry Barclay King, Esq., Georgia:

It really looks as if the cause we have been seeking for all these years is on the road to success.

The Philippine episode is the blackest spot in American annals; the sooner it is closed the sooner it may be forgotten.

We profess to be a government of the people, by the people, for the people. Are we not rather a government of the politicians, by the politicians, for the politicians? God help the Filipinos if they can't do any better!

Prof. William E. Dodd, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois:

Is not this thanksgiving one of peculiar satisfaction to the Anti-Imperialist who sees now the beginning of the realization of his hopes as to one of the most important policies of the American government. Your persistent and wise agitation has done a good deal to bring about the result we see in the Philippines—the beginning of self-government. Anti-Imperialists have shown what a comparatively small body of resolute men may do if they have faith in their cause. Woodrow Wilson has also contributed much to his resolute idealism and to him I think we might properly direct a collective letter endorsing his policy.

George Foster Peabody, Esq., New York:

I am much rejoiced to have the recent declaration of our

Government's policy in the Philippines go as far as it did and I rejoiced with the appointment of natives to the Commission. I think it very advantageous that the sentiment in this country should continue to be educated to the wisdom as well as the righteousness of the doctrine "The Consent of the Governed."

Pres. George C. Chase, Bates College, Lewiston, Maine:

As one who has been deeply humiliated by the policy of the United States towards the Philippines and who has been eager for a return of our government and our people to the earlier policy of the United States and to the principles of the great Declaration of Independence, I have been glad to see the beginnings of a different course and attitude and an evident disposition on the part of the present administration at Washington to correct the mistakes and to right the wrongs that we have committed in our relations with the unfortunate inhabitants of the Philippines.

Hon. J. M. Head, Mass.:

I know of nothing that will afford me greater pleasure than to be permitted to express my felicitations upon the excellent prospects for a very satisfactory adjustment of the Philippine situation, upon terms creditable alike to this country and to those people.

Hon. Louis F. Post, Assistant Secretary of Labor, Washington:

I beg permission to congratulate those who do upon the brighter skies under which the League will meet this year than at any time in its history perhaps. Those of us who remember the dark days of that Imperialist regime which began with the Cuban War, can appreciate the promise there is in President Wilson's truly democratic policy toward the Philippines. Such promises sometimes fail through no fault of those who make them, but the day of American Imperialism really seems to have past and the tones of its funeral bells to be in the air.

Hon. John F. Shafroth, Senator, Colorado:

Surely this should be a memorable gathering. The occasion should be one of joy and felicitation, for we can see in events of the past few months the promise of fulfillment of our hopes that one day justice would triumph. It is not too much to say

that through the present Democratic administration the freedom of the Filipino people will soon become an accomplished fact and the American nation will be restored to its former station of glorious destiny among the nations of the earth.

To the members of the Anti-Imperialist League there must during this happy season come the joyous consciousness of splendid victory. Through the dark years of gross materialism that dominated our national life this organization kept alive and vibrant the voice of conscience. The campaign has been nobly fought, and gloriously won.

Director Edwin D. Mead, World's Peace Foundation, Boston, Mass.:

The Anti-Imperialist party, after the untiring and uncompromising struggle of fifteen years, has reason for gratitude and for the confident look to the future such as it has not had before at any time in this long period. The political party which is now in power came to power pledged to true American principles in dealing with its unhappy inheritance; and the recent action of the President proves that he takes the pledge in earnest. We have had the first clear declaration that our administration in the Philippines is to be controlled by the distinct purpose of preparing for the independence of the people; and the granting to them of a majority in the legislative department, where we have hitherto kept the majority to ourselves, is an honest and hopeful step in that direction.

Hon. John Sharp Williams, Senator, Mississippi:

Everybody who has taken any interest in me or my opinions has known from the beginning that I never thought "God put us in charge of the Philippines," but am thoroughly of the opinion that we put ourselves in charge of them, and that the whole missionary idea is connected with the hypocritical pretense that our duty to our own people was to get rid of the Philippines as soon as we could, and that this duty to our own people involved no damage to the Filipinos of which they had any right to complain. If we should let them alone they would be in no worse fix than they were before we took hold of them. I do not think that God ever appointed us his Globe-trotting vicegerents for the purpose of introducing so-called civilization and order amongst other peoples.

I do not know whether the Filipinos are capable of self-government or not, but I do know that we are not capable of



governing them, and that no people is capable of governing another against its will. President Wilson's instructions to Governor Harrison were excellent. Harrison's addresses are on the right line. I believe that the principles of the Democratic party can solve this problem as they can solve every other problem, provided they are faithfully adhered to.

Hon. Warren Olney, California:

It is cause of rejoicing that the American people have so quickly outgrown the lust of conquest that ushered in the Twentieth Century.

The continual hammering of the Anti-Imperialist League has helped the growth of a sentiment that will no doubt in the future control the policy of the United States.

Hon. John V. LeMoyné, Maryland:

With much pleasure I extend my sincere congratulations to the coterie of men in Boston who have fought the good fight of anti-imperialism and who have obtained at least the prospect of some degree of justice to the Philippine people and, what is more important, in diverting our own Government from the pernicious policy of trying to govern other people.

They have persisted in the good fight when some of us were ready to give up and thought it hopeless. I take off my hat and salute respectfully and say: well done!

There is a tradition that a man once succeeded admirably by strictly minding his own business. If good for the individual it should be good for a collection of individuals. This theory is generally agreed to and, by nations, is generally disregarded.

Judge James H. Blount, Georgia:

I acknowledge my obligation to you for having kept available all these years, so many of the salient historical facts and data concerning the American occupation of the Philippines, which would otherwise been long since lost sight of.

Chancellor David Starr Jordan, Stanford University, California:

Let me congratulate the members of the League and the country on the steps towards the freedom of the Philippines inaugurated from present brave and enlightened administration. We are slowly coming back to one of the first principles of our



republic, that no other kind of government in the long run for anybody is so good as self-control.

Hon. Henry F. Hollis, Senator, New Hampshire:

I shall be glad to have you convey to the meeting my continued sympathy with the cause for which it was organized, and to have you express to them my delight that definite progress is in prospect under a Democratic administration.

I am acquainted with Governor General Harrison, and I am sure that he will do all in his power to promote immediate steps looking to the ultimate freedom of the Philippine Islands.

Mr. Bryan's attitude is too well known to need comment from me. He and President Wilson are working in the utmost harmony on every subject, and Mr. Bryan's views receive genuine and ready deference from the President.

I have talked to President Wilson about the Philippines, and I am sure from his comments and attitude that he intends to carry out with the utmost good faith the declarations of the Democratic platform.

Prof. Garrett Drovers, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass.:

There is no greater test of intelligence and character than to estimate justly the civilization of an alien people. The obvious way is to consider such people as inferior just in proportion as they differ from ourselves, and if they are lacking in our material power and success they are at once deemed unworthy of free institutions or for the exercise of sovereignty. I lived for ten years in Japan and during that time the vast majority of foreigners living there, Englishmen, Americans, and others, could not be convinced that the Japanese were in any way to be considered a civilized people. Precisely the arguments that Governor Forbes and Dean Worcester have used against the Philippines were used against the Japanese.

It requires insight and sympathy to understand a civilization like that of the Philippines. Because the peasants live in thatched huts is no indication of inferiority. The great mass of Japanese live in this way and yet Japan has shown extraordinary political and economic vigor. The attitude of Ex-Governor Forbes seems to me to have somewhat the *de haut en bas* quality of so many Westerners when they come in contact with a less developed economic civilization. The fact

is that there is scarcely any nation in the world in which there is not a large amount of ignorance, especially political ignorance, among the peasant class. Under the rules laid down by Ex-Governor Forbes I doubt whether many states of the United States could retain their status as states. He no doubt could pick to pieces New York State politically and show how it was unfitted to exercise the rights of a state. I am convinced that if the Filipinos are given a reasonable opportunity they will work out their own destiny to a successful result. It should be a point of congratulation to every American citizen that the present administration is proceeding on the principle that the Philippine people are entitled to the blessing of self-government and independence.

John P. Herrmann, Esq., Missouri:

I cannot help recalling the words of Hon. George S. Boutwell, spoken for the annual meeting eleven years ago.

"We demand the abandonment of the Islands for the reason that we have no right to be there. Our title is but a slaveholder's title. We demand the abandonment of the Islands for the reason that the continuance of possession requires the infliction of brutalities heretofore unknown, even by name, to the American people. And more than all and over all other reasons we denounce the occupation of the Islands as the abandonment of the American Republic and the condemnation of the men by whom its foundation was laid.

If I have a word to say to the living or to the coming generations of our country, it is this: The cause in which we are engaged is never to be abandoned until the right shall have been proclaimed."

It was a proclamation. Yea, a great proclamation!

Eleven years in the span of life is a long period to wait "for they which do hunger and thirst after righteousness," (Matt. v, 6.), but we have not been waiting in vain.

The new era of freedom is dawning and Oh, how I could wish that at this particular meeting all the members of the league that were present at its first could be with you now.

It is fitting that our League should reward with thanks the President of our country—Woodrow Wilson, for taking the first step towards making possible the fulfillment of the proclamation of Hon. George S. Boutwell, that "WE HAVE NO RIGHT TO BE THERE."

Hon. T. M. Patterson, Former Senator, Colorado:

I have been noting with great satisfaction the progress made by the United States in doing justice to the Philippines as well as to the American people and their traditions, since the election that made Mr. Wilson, President, and Mr. Bryan became Secretary of State. It looks now as though before the present administration ends, the Philippine people will be either enjoying their independence or such steps will have been taken in Congress that nothing can defeat their independence within the next few years. Mr. Wilson's declaration at the Southern Commercial Congress on October 27th last, that "I want to take this occasion to say that the United States will never again seek one additional foot of territory by conquest," is a harbinger of the future settled policy of the United States, as well as a veiled repentance for our dealings with the Filipinos.

Your coming annual meeting should be an occasion of great rejoicing among the members of the League who will be present, and for congratulating those who have been so steadfast and untiring for the league's patriotic work.

Mrs. Georgiana A. Boutwell, Mass.:

I wish to congratulate the members of the Anti-Imperialist League upon the advanced step taken by the President in the matter of independence of the Philippine Islands.

In the same official utterance of the past it has been intimated that if they, the Filipinos, conducted themselves according to our ideals, that in time not less than two generations they might become independent.

A new note has been struck. They are now promised independence in the near future; they, not us, becoming the larger factor in deciding the time.

I have thought for some years, that the one hundredth anniversary of my father's birth, would witness the independence of the Islands.

I take fresh courage and hope of a realization of his ardent wish for which he worked unceasingly.

Col. Charles R. Codman, Mass.:

I think that we may feel encouraged that Philippine independence is approaching. The first step has been taken by the administration of President Wilson. We are bound to give them a good start and then our responsibility ends.

Hon. Thomas M. Shackleford, Tennessee:

I am delighted with the declared policy of the present administration concerning the Philippines and beg to tender my hearty congratulations to the active officers and workers of the Anti-Imperialist League upon the success which is beginning to crown their efforts.

Frederick G. Corser, Esq., Lewis R. Larson, Esq., S. A. Stockwell, Esq., H. A. Humphrey, Esq., Edward S. Corser, Esq., Albert C. Jerome, Esq., of Minnesota:

The great change in the attitude of Washington toward the Filipino people as expressed by the appointment of Mr. Harrison to be Governor-General of the Islands and his words and actions since assuming the duties of office can bring only joy and hope to Anti-Imperialists throughout the land.

We of Minnesota wish we might be present at the annual gathering of those who have so long and faithfully worked for the cause and join in the cheers.

"Now is the time for all good men to come to the aid of the party! and see that the wheels do not mire again before we reach the end of the trip."

Prof. Alexander F. Chamberlain, Clark University, Worcester, Mass.:

Today our long and difficult struggle for real Americanism and practice to the Filipinos has been approved by the President of the United States. The word of the nation has been solemnly pledged and what is more, the action of the nation to make that word live has already begun. Filipino independence, the death-knell to the false imperialism from which we and they have both suffered, is no longer a dream. The statesmanship of Woodrow Wilson has changed all that! In freeing the Philippines he will also set America free. We Anti-Imperialists would not be human, if we did not remember that we have kept the faith in spite of all obstacles. Let us rejoice that we shall soon see a new nation of free men and friends of America born in the East!

Hon. Warren Worth Bailey, House of Representatives, Pennsylvania:

At last we seem to have come to a turn in the long lane of imperialism and this turn I hope will lead us back to those



high ideals of self-government, which were so madly deserted when the lust of conquest and power bore us away back in the late nineties. The spirit of the new freedom is breathing in the Philippine policies of the Wilson administration and as a member of the Committee on Insular Affairs in the house, I propose doing all that lies in my power to bring these policies into practical effect through legislation which will restore the Philippine Islands to the Filipino people.

Horace White, Esq., former editor New York Evening Post:

To all the officers and members of the Anti-Imperialist League I send cordial greetings for the New Year. We who believe that the Declaration of Independence was not restricted to white men or to a single hemisphere, have cause to rejoice that the Government of the United States has fallen into the hands of a President and a Congress of like faith with ourselves.

President Wilson has initiated a policy in his treatment of the Philippines which cannot be reversed during his term of office. It is my confident belief that before his term expires the measures of self-government which he has inaugurated in the islands will have so vindicated themselves in the happiness of the Filipinos and in the deliverance of the United States from an unnecessary and profitless burden that nobody will wish to change.

Charles B. Wilby, Esq., Former President of the Cincinnati Bar Association:

Every real American who loves his country as the fathers made it, congratulates President Wilson upon his long step toward ending the anomalous imperialism in the Philippines for which thanks and congratulations are also due to you and the faithful ones who are working with you. Your good work must go on until we can once more celebrate the Fourth of July without shame.

The League now indeed enters upon the fruition of its labors which the great President predicted ten years ago. At our last annual meeting we looked forward to the introduction of the so-called Philippine "Independence Bill" which had been reported in the House of Representatives by the Insular Committee.

It will be remembered that in the 62d Congress the time allowed by the House of Representatives to the Insular Committee on "calendar" Wednesdays, was so frittered away by the opposition that it was only possible to get the bill passed May 22, 1912, for the inclusion of the so-called "Friar lands" under the conditions of the "public lands" of the Philippines, thus restricting the areas of sale. The hopes of the author of the Independence bill, the Hon. W. A. Jones, for opportunity to call up in the 63d Congress a similar bill to that which was thus blocked were disappointed. It would have been idle to press the measure under the conditions. It could undoubtedly have passed the House indeed, but in the Senate it would have required the active support which it was obvious the President was not ready to give until the Banking and Currency Bill was out of the way.

The President's appointment of Mr. Francis Burton Harrison as Governor-General of the Philippine Islands, the instructions given to him as proclaimed at Manila, and the appointment of the new Filipino members of the Commission, giving, under the supreme veto power, native control in the upper House (the Commission) which it already monopolizes in the Assembly seem irrevocable steps to us, as to our friends, whose inspiring words just read are still echoing in our hearts, with confidence not only in men and measures but in the great laws of progress. As John Bright wrote in darker days: "there is a gradual and sensible victory being gained over barbarism and wrong of every kind." The enemy is shifting his ground with the alacrity of despair and is claiming that the President's course is exactly in line with the previous Republican policy. The "fait accompli" can be no longer denied and though it was denounced beforehand as destructive of the colonial fabric its significance is now astonishingly minimized. In fact the colonialists are actually trying to make men believe that it fits in rather well with their own design. Such "experiments" do not go backwards. Liberty means more liberty,—democracy more democracy.

How the choice of Mr. Harrison came about is not to be told. It was made by the President and behind his initiative it were ungracious to go, even were it possible. We are not to particularize indeed the work of the Anti-Imperialist League for the past year. It has done more than ever its well accustomed part to bring influence to bear through such public and private

opinion as was properly (or sometimes presumptuously) accessible. As time went on and the enemy, from whom the wise are always watchful learners, more and more openly gloated over the situation, which showed only a rapid increase of the tendencies towards permanent colonialism by great exploitation, we could only emphasize the urgency of a speedy change wherever we could do so in active correspondence.

Among the many appreciative replies received from Congressmen was that of Mr. Harrison.

"Every year I become more earnestly impressed with the necessity of our severing our bonds with the Philippines at the earliest moment practicable; not only have we no justification for holding those people in bondage but I consider the Philippines our 'heel of Achilles' in time of war."

We know that Mr. Harrison sought and obtained an interview with the President and mentioned some of those names proposed for the Governor-Generalship. It may have been then that Mr. Wilson said: "Why don't you speak for yourself John?" We know that Mr. Harrison was indorsed by Secretary Bryan, by Commissioner Quezon, and by Mr. Jones, and it is not to be doubted that his acts will be consistent with his own profession and with the wise instructions of the Executive.

Current questions have been so fully treated in President Storey's admirable pamphlet, "The Democratic Party and Philippine Independence" that much of the ground need not be again gone over. By the courtesy of Senator Shafroth it was made a Public Document of the Senate and in this and in the original form, 3000 copies of which were given by Mr. Storey, it has been very largely circulated.

Bitter accusations against the Filipinos for alleged practice of slavery seem to have been motivated by the vindictive hatred of a displaced official. What shall be said of the audacity of this man, in trying to create a back-fire by charging the Philippine Assembly with the sanction of the shreds and patches of peonage or apprenticeship which he knew the present government would search out,—thus hoping to forestall the wrath to be visited on him and his associates who had had, and failed to exert, the sole and absolute authority in the premises. It has proved but a fouling of his own nest.

We have a new recruit in our criticism of the United States as a colonial administrator, Bishop Brent, who has discovered



and who has lately testified that our whole treatment of the Moros has been a wicked failure. He proposes to immolate himself by adventuring among these unfortunate "wards" of the United States if our sovereignty continues, conducting a self-imposed apostolate in which he purposes to challenge martyrdom. There is no particular reason to apprehend any such catastrophe even now but certainly not if the good missionary will be patient for a short time and allow the joint wisdom of the new Philippine government to substitute consistent and efficient methods of administration for the inconsistent and vacillating policy of the last fifteen years. It will be remembered that while the United States was committed in the early days of the conquest to a sanction of slavery by a subvention to the slaveowners in Mindanao, Mabini, Aguinaldo's statesman, had worked out a plan for its abolition and for a peaceful adjustment of relations with the inhabitants. There was more petting by the United States as when the Dattos were brought to this country, alternating with punitive expeditions, Mt. Dajo and violent and bloody disarmament such as is going on at this moment.

In this Moro matter again Worcester has hastily discharged his venomous arrows—a little too hastily since his sham pity for the poor Mohammedans who might be transferred to Filipino rule from the sweet and easy yoke of the United States is disposed of by the good Bishop who, though politically deceived by Mr. Taft's schemes, is a man of God and a man of truth. Here is the deadly parallel.

[Dean C. Worcester on the past United States Policy.]

"Every true friend of civilization familiar with the facts must view with gravest concern the placing of legislative control over the wild tribes in the hands of their bitter enemies, who have viewed with disgust the efforts heretofore made to improve the condition of these backward people. \* \* \* \* \*

Governor-General Harrison assured me in the strongest terms that the results of the work for the wild tribes would be kept intact, the former policy of kindness and justice in dealing with them would be continued."

[Rt. Rev. C. H. Brent, D. D., on the past United States Policy.]

"All that the wronged Moro knows of civilized peoples," said the Bishop of the Philippines, "is that they make magnificent weapons of destruction and that they use them for the purpose for which they were made. The Spaniard began the work and, entering upon an evil inheritance, we continued, with more perfect weapons. But the Moro is still unsubdued, and I say, more honor to the Moro! We can go on with our oppressive measures to the end of time, but all we can effect is annihilation."

The effort to make an Ulster out of the Moro province will



not succeed. Already the wise suggestion is made that a Moro native may be made governor of the province after a period of civil governorship by Mr. Carpenter which has just replaced the military rule.

Perhaps the biggest Worcester bluff is his recent accusation against rich Filipinos who are endeavoring as he says unjustly to acquire great tracts of land, dispossessing their poorer neighbors: this accusation comes from him who hastened over to the United States two years ago frantically to support the effort made to overrule Senator Hoar's wise restriction of land sales to the foreign exploiter:—from him who was judged by the Democratic members of the Insular Committee before whom he appeared in his unsuccessful attempt when they reported that the evidence: "thoroughly condemns and discredits the policy pursued in the Philippines by those whose duty it is to administer those land laws."

As we say: "Here comes the fiery Tybalt back again!" we cannot minimize the proposed crusade by Mr. Worcester with newspaper articles, lectures and twenty thousand slides. We have experienced his methods of warfare and those of his agents; we can go a little further than Judge Tracey when he published a contradiction of Mr. Worcester's slavery charges and paid tribute to him as a "seasoned controversialist." His first step doubtless will be to try to terrorize the susceptible portion of the press, silencing criticism and opposition by libel suits (or threats of them) such as that in which he prosecuted and ruined the native Manila paper "El Renacimiento."

Mr. Quezon has continued to convert opponents and inspire friends of Philippine independence by addressing many meetings. Dr. McDill at Mohonk manfully bore the banner and actually obtained a tolerant vote for the President's policy from the group of bureaucrats and ex-officials assiduously gathered there to doubt and to discourage. Among other meetings a notable one was held on Jefferson day last April in Philadelphia. Our Vice-President Dr. W. Horace Hoskins presided, and the Philippine commissioners assisted, but the principal speech was delivered by Representative Jones. The occasion as described in the local press was "a wild and enthusiastic demonstration for Philippine independence."

The Executive Committee communicated to the President the following message, March 28:

"Congratulations upon the magnificent statement given out by you concerning the Chinese loan, the first practical step in the way of fulfilling the noble ideals you had promulgated towards the restoration of the moral world-influence of the United States, impaired so gravely since the war with Spain."

The following circular was sent to the members of the League by the Committee May 13:

"A crisis has been reached in the contest for Philippine independence. The Democratic party which has promised independence is in absolute control of the Government, and it should be made to feel that public opinion is behind it. Our opponents have organized under the leadership of ex-President Taft and Governor-General Forbes to prevent the Democratic party from carrying out its promise, and they are filling the newspapers and periodicals with specious appeals and misrepresentations of the fact. The friends of independence should rally to its support, and we urge all our friends, by letters to their Congressmen, by communications to the press, and by every means, to counteract this movement. The activities of the League are largely controlled by the amount of money which it will have for publication, and other work, and we urge our friends to help the cause in every possible way by voice, by pen, and so far as possible by contribution to the common fund."

An address to the Filipino people from their old friends and well-wishers seemed appropriate on the occasion of the dawn of a new day for our brown brothers. It was prepared by the Executive Committee, and forwarded to the Speaker of the Assembly and the native papers in Manila. This congratulation to them on the coming opportunity, and recognition of ability to meet it was also printed in the columns of such domestic papers as were not filled with the stories of strikes, riots, political corruption, the wholesale robberies of high finance, promotion and water-logging which demonstrate our own self-governing adequacy. It is a notable fact that this document which crossed in the mails a testimonial from the Philippine Assembly on the auspicious occasion corresponded so nearly with it in its recognition of a gift which was not altogether a gift, a responsibility which was somewhat an inherent one, a duty to the Filipinos and to the world, a novitiate which had a higher hope than a merely experimental one. That we should have

thus struck hands across the sea is a common source of satisfaction indeed. This is our address:

#### TO THE FILIPINO PEOPLE.

Boston, October 22.

The Anti-Imperialist League sends you its cordial felicitations upon the declaration made by Governor-General Harrison on behalf of the President that the United States proposes to grant you your independence.

The work of the League began when, as citizens of the United States, half a million persons associated themselves to resist the purchase of the Philippine Islands at the close of the Spanish-American war. After the treaty's ratification it soon became clear, in spite of official efforts to obscure the truth, that you had already overthrown the power of Spain over your islands, so that, even if the United States had possessed the right to buy, Spain had nothing to sell. It was moreover apparent that the United States owed you a debt of gratitude and the fulfillment of substantial pledges made in consideration of the support which was sought from your people in the contest with Spain. The League maintained that the proper course was to treat with you as an independent people, ready as you then were to make a friendly alliance with the United States, and one of its members offered to repay the government the \$20,000,000 paid to Spain for the stolen goods, and thus clear the slate.

During your long struggle for independence while you were driven to take up arms, the League refused to recognize the contest as an "insurrection," and urged that opportunity be given for truce, for negotiation or for compromise, enduring reproaches like those which were heaped upon the friends of America in Great Britain during our own revolutionary war.

After the pacification, the League hailed with gratification the signs that there remained a persistent aspiration for independence from a people made more coherent and homogeneous by their bitter experience. It fully sympathized with every movement to make the American people realize that good faith and justice should remedy the wrong done by the administration of a party which seemed unable to abandon its mistaken course. The League believed that in your freedom lay the only hope of escape from what threatened to become a dangerous colonial attachment to the Republic, so that the peaceable



means to secure it set on foot by your leaders received its hearty co-operation.

While the League thus offers you its congratulations, it ventures too a word of very earnest counsel. We believe that you should in every possible way discourage and limit that kind of development by "foreign" capital which is now openly urged by those who know, and are bold enough to assert, that such a development will prevent almost certainly the severance of the ties which bind you as a "colony" to the United States—because the "lobby" which such "interests" can maintain would be all-powerful in this country to prevent our withdrawal from the islands, while your voices in opposition would scarcely be heard, or your arguments reach the public ear.

Let the dead past bury all elements of bitterness or revenge. The League, with yourselves, adheres to the position that the United States has been false to its own great principles and to you throughout the struggle. The League, therefore, can urge sympathetically upon you patience, courage, and unremitting watchfulness over that enemy which has brought the United States to such a sore pass and which now threatens your virgin soil—the greed of capitalism! It is not mere obedience to the law which the League would advise. We urge you to remember that the future of your country is in your hands, that every evidence of wisdom, self-restraint, patriotism and love of order in your public men and your people will hasten your independence, while every instance of lawlessness, unpatriotic self-seeking, corruption or violence will delay it. You have done well in the past. Persevere until you have shown the people of the United States that the arguments of your enemies are unfounded, that education, public health, in a word, all public interests will not suffer at your hands, and so win nobly the freedom to which, like all other human beings, you are so clearly entitled.

(Signed)

MOORFIELD STOREY, President.  
ERVING WINSLOW, Secretary.

It is pitiful to recognize what the perversion of true history has wrought in a class of minds affected by mere reiteration. The resolution sent to the President by the Philippine Assembly "disappoints" them, in the words of an influential Western newspaper. It considers the statement that the Filipinos "have waited in patience, confident that sooner or later all errors and



injustices would be redressed," an indication of lack of capacity to rule themselves,—going so far as to assert also that such words indicate a "profound lack of gratitude" for "the constructive work of the United States during the past fifteen years,"—fifteen years which included two years of the "constructive work" of reconcentration, the water cure and wholesale slaughter!

The President's message to Congress gives an opportunity for a comparison which is important, as differentiating sharply the positions which some of our opponents are actually trying to confuse.

The honesty of Mr. Cameron Forbes in forcing the colonial issue to the front, undisguised champion as he is of permanent trusteeship for "weaker peoples" has won him respect in the Philippines as their only sincere ruler, while it has made our task more easy.

Let us note with suitable appreciation that in his address at the dinner of the City Club last Tuesday he graciously abandons for the nonce however, the attitude of his late administration when he acknowledged "the imperative necessity of giving the President's policy in the islands a fair chance."

Mr. Forbes had based his administration on his belief, as he stated it, that "there is one fundamental thing to which the United States has pledged itself; to establish and maintain a stable government in the islands." This might imply, and has implied, the active encouragement of conditions, making only for a stable and permanent colonial government, the development of the Philippines by non-resident capitalists.

The President's position is based upon the belief, as expressed by the Democratic party ever since the acquisition of the "possessions" that the United States is pledged, as the fundamental thing, to "hold steadily in view their ultimate independence." This implies as the President goes on to explain in his message that we should follow that "counsel and experience" among the Filipinos, such as urges the warning to would-be exploiters involved in the definite repudiation of colonialism and a promise of independence.

Mr. Taft stands almost alone, belying the pledge he so solemnly made to throw no obstacles in the way of fair trial of Mr. Wilson's plans, in opposing their progress in the Philippines and passionately demanding generations of exploitation,

with independence then to be taken down from the shelf if the Filipinos desire it. How can one bear to contemplate as a guide and instructor of youth, in the great moral principles of the law, a mind so tortuous or a conscience so dulled as to permit the assertion that after such a period, when the power of the investor and the weakness of the native would be so great, the one would ever grant or the other would have any voice to ask independence? Of course permanent colonialism would be then an established fact.

We are very wishful for the speedy passage of an independence bill in terms similar to that drawn by Mr. Jones, giving an authoritative legislative sanction to the full programme of the Democratic party's platform, following its hopeful initiation by the President,—for which we extend to him our gratitude and sincere congratulations. Gaining so much, we may be patient as we assert with the confidence in other words of the great English reformer: "If we can't win as fast as we wish,—we know that our opponents in the long run can't win at all."

The Vice-Presidents of the League who have died since our last Annual Meeting are:

Judge Moses Hallett, of Colorado. He was an earnest friend to the League, whose career was distinguished by the rare union of an enthusiastic reformer's temper with a well balanced judicial mind.

Mr. Francis Fisher Browne of Illinois, the brilliant founder and editor of the most important literary review in the United States the "Dial" of Chicago: his pen was used with particular efficiency in behalf of the League since its zeal was regulated by winning and discreet temperance.

Dr. Patrick J. Timmins, of Massachusetts. Dr. Timmins was as loyal to the great racial principles of nationalism which he had learned in the country of his birth as he was to the principles of democracy which he advocated in that of his adoption, protesting with us in all occasions against their betrayal in the Philippines.

The Hon. Alfred H. Love of Philadelphia. No fitter name could have been borne by our late associate and president of the Peace Union. His whole life was love and it was devoted to peace as only to be attained through liberty. He believed that world-peace was especially jeopardized by our claim to the Philippines.

Mr. Henry C. Newbold of California. In proportion to his means Mr. Newbold was the largest benefactor by far that the League ever had. Poor in this world's goods his contributions over-passed a thousand dollars. And not poor in spirit, his faith and courage, dictated at the last by a trembling hand, added to our duty a grave responsibility to such an adherent.

Col. Patrick Ford, of New York, was ever ready to lend his newspapers to our cause in those appeals for which the "Irish World" and the "Freeman's Journal" gave such a wide and important hearing.

His heart was not lent, but given to the League from the first with all the warmth of his blood and the ardor of his temper.

The Hon. U. M. Rose, of Arkansas, was a constant supporter of the League to whom our cause was always nearest of any public movement whatever beyond the immediate duties of citizenship and of profession life. These so brilliantly performed never impaired the idealism which marked the character of this eminent publicist.

The Vice-Presidents of the League who have been elected since our last Annual Meeting are:

Mr. Francis Fisher Kane for Pennsylvania.

Mr. S. A. Stockwell for Minnesota.

Mr. R. T. Crane, Jr., for Illinois,  
in succession to his father.

Mr. Waldo R. Browne for Illinois,  
Editor of the "Dial," Chicago, in succession to his father.

The Hon. W. W. Bailey for Pennsylvania,  
Editor of the "Johnstown Democrat," Johnstown.

Mr. William Marion Reedy for Missouri,  
Editor of the "Mirror," St. Louis.

Mrs. Charles Gordon Ames for Massachusetts,  
in succession to Dr. Ames.

Mr. James H. Barry for California,  
Editor of the "Star," San Francisco.

Hon. Brand Whitlock for Ohio,  
former Mayor of Toledo.

Prof. G. T. Ladd for Connecticut,  
of Yale University, New Haven.

Very Rev. George M. Searle for California,  
formerly Superior of Paulist Society.

President E. L. Stephens for Louisiana,



of the Southwestern Louisiana Industrial Institution,  
Lafayette.

#### DOCUMENTS CIRCULATED.

[many being reprints from newspapers].

The Fourteenth Annual Report of the Anti-Imperialist League.

"The Interests Alert," from Boston Herald, January 23.

"Misgovernment in the Philippines and Cost to the United States of American Occupation," Speech of Hon. W. A. Jones in the House of Representatives, January 28.

"Mr. Winslow's Forecast," from Springfield Republican, February 1.

"Philippine 'Investigators,'" from San Francisco Star, February 8.

"The Filipino People Ask Justice," Speech of Hon. Manuel L. Quezon, in the House of Representatives, February 13.

"Truth as to Conditions in the Philippines," Speech of Hon. W. A. Jones in the House of Representatives, February 13.

"Mr. Jones on the Philippines," Hon. Francis E. Woodruff, from Springfield Republican, February 15.

"Exploiting the Philippines," W. S. Lyon, from New York Evening Post, February 24.

"The Voice of the People," from Johnstown Democrat, February 26.

"The Philippine Problem," Hon. Francis E. Woodruff, from Springfield Republican, March 17.

"Reply to Cardinal Gibbons," from Boston Common, April 12.

"The Cloven Hoof," W. S. Lyon, from Lewiston Sun, April 21.

"Philippine Slavery," Hon. James F. Tracey, from New York Times, May 3.

"The Democratic Party and Philippine Independence," Moorfield Storey.

Same, as Senate Document 159, 63d Congress 1st session.

"Winslow to Brent," from Springfield Republican, June 12.

"A Philippine Echo," from Springfield Republican, July 14.

"Tutelage for Independence," Rev. John Snyder, from Springfield Republican, July 21.

"Filipino Catholics and Independence," from Lewiston Sun, August 7.



"The Mistakes of Moses," W. S. Lyon, from New York Evening Post, August 12.

"The Monroe Doctrine; an obsolete Shibboleth," by Prof. Hiram Bingham, Remarks of Hon. William Kent in the House of Representatives, July 18.

"The Pith of Opinion," from Boston Herald, August 22.

"A Philippine News Item," from Chicago Public, August 29.

"Bishop Brent's Harvard Address," from Living Church, August 30.

"Benevolent Imperialism," from San Francisco Star, September 6.

"Winslow raps Forbes Fete," from Boston Herald, September 22.

"Philippine Slavery," from Boston Herald, September 22.

"What of the Philippines?," Dr. Robert Ellis Thompson, from Irish World, September 27.

"Ultimate Independence for the Filipinos, Hon. W. J. Bryan, from the Commoner, October.

"Question of Neutralization," from Springfield Republican, October 3.

"President Wilson's Philippine Policy," from Boston Herald, October 7.

"The President's Philippine Policy," from Journal of Commerce, October 18.

Address "To the Filipino People," October 22.

"The Moro Situation," Worcester vs. Brent, from the Lewiston Sun, November 25.

"The Philippine Situation," from National Monthly Magazine, December.

Very many applications have been received for material to be used in debates by all kinds of organizations, from colleges, schools and clubs, the question being usually: "Shall the Philippines be granted their independence or not?" We have gladly supplied a little library from our files in response, only asking a report as to the results of the debates. In every case the reply has been that the resultant vote was affirmative!

ERVING WINSLOW, Secretary.

# REPORT OF THE TREASURER

## THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST LEAGUE, IN ACCOUNT WITH

DAVID G. HASKINS, JR., *Treasurer.*

*Dr.*

To amount expended from January 1, 1913, to  
December 2, 1913.

For Postage, Express, Messengers . . . . .	\$ 753.93
“ Stationery, Telephone, Telegraph . . . . .	234.35
“ Typewriting . . . . .	385.30
“ Printing, etc. . . . .	176.62
“ Meetings . . . . .	47.90
“ Office Rent . . . . .	275.00
“ Sundries . . . . .	13.21
Balance to New Account . . . . .	32.31
	<u>\$1,918.62</u>

*Cr.*

By balance on hand January 1, 1913 . . . . .	\$ 103.77
“ Contributions . . . . .	1,321.60
“ Annual Subscriptions . . . . .	493.25

E. and O. E.

DAVID G. HASKINS, JR., *Treasurer.*

\$1,918.62

Boston, December 3, 1913.

## AUDITOR'S CERTIFICATE

8 Beacon Street, Boston, Mass., Dec. 5, 1913.

I hereby certify that I have audited the accounts of David G. Haskins, Jr., Treasurer of the Anti-Imperialist League, from Jan. 1, 1913, to Dec. 2, 1913, and I have found them correctly kept and properly vouched, and I find that he has a cash balance with the New England Trust Co., Boston, of \$32.31.

GEO. H. CATE, *Auditor.*

Within a few days the Treasurer has received a brief note from a valued member of the League, enclosing a small check, and reading:

"Gentlemen:

There seems to be no pressing need for the work of the Society at present, so please do not send me another bill."

He evidently thinks our work is done. This is perhaps not an unnatural opinion, at least on a superficial view of the situation. For there is certainly much ground for encouragement. After long and tedious years, in which we were powerless to accomplish anything, for the cause, and in which our opponents would hardly admit that there was a Philippine question, things have at last begun to move. Governor Forbes, Secretary Worcester and the other American members of the Philippine Commission,—pronounced imperialists, whatever their merits may be,—have been recalled and the Filipinos have been given a majority of the Commission. The new Governor-General, Francis Burton Harrison, is known to be a strong anti-imperialist and was appointed on the urgent recommendation of Senor Quezon and Congressman Jones, author of the bill for Philippine independence which bears his name.

Mr. Taft is pathetically lamenting that the new Governor has demanded the resignation of several American heads of important bureaus; that he is filling some of these positions with native Filipinos; and that he is said to be taking counsel with the natives rather than with Americans in regard to the administration of the government. And last week, in his first annual message to Congress, the President said: "We must hold steadily in view their ultimate independence," boldly using, be it noted, the word "independence" rather than "self-government," the ambiguous and favorite expression of the imperialists and making a statement which no former president has ever made.

All this is well and hopeful, and marks an important advance.

And yet he must be a very superficial observer or a very easy-going trustful optimist who is willing to cease work and to regard the victory as won. For, mark well, not a single step has yet been taken which would be difficult or even embarrassing for an imperialist administration to retrace. If the Republican Party were to return to power (which may Heaven forbid!) it would be quite simple and natural for them to send back Messrs. Forbes and Worcester or to send over others of

like views and to restore the control of the commission to the Americans. Neither Mr. Roosevelt nor any other Republican President would feel at all bound by any views which Mr. Wilson might have expressed to Congress. Indeed, an ingenious and plausible imperialistic President might argue that there was no very fundamental difference practically between his policy and Mr. Wilson's.

The President has said, "We must move toward the time of that Independence as steadily as the way can be cleared and the foundations thoughtfully and permanently laid."

He feels that "the success of the step already taken will be sure to clear our view for the steps which are to follow." "Step by step," he says, "we should extend and perfect the system of Self government making test of them and modifying them as experience discloses their successes and their failures."

There is no kind of suggestion of any definite or approximate period of time which will be required for "thoughtfully and permanently laying the foundations" for "clearing our view for the steps which are to follow" for "testing and modifying the steps" we are to take "in extending and perfecting self-government." Except for his suggestion that we should take counsel with the Filipinos, Mr. Taft might almost accept Mr. Wilson's views, so far as expressed in this message, and claim that all these preparations and preliminaries would take a generation to accomplish.

Let us remember that the government of the United States has not yet committed itself even to ultimate independence, however remote, for the Philippines. We have only acts and expressions of opinion by the President in our favor. Congress has not acted, nor has the President asked it to act. The Jones Bill has been repeatedly and persistently postponed. While the House of Representatives is undoubtedly in favor of such legislation, there are dangerous imperialistic forces working in the Senate, in the Cabinet and in the country. Mr. Taft and all the imperialists, able and determined, backed by powerful newspaper influence, will spare no effort to prevent the passage of any legislation for independence or to render it innocuous. It is of the last importance that some measure like the Jones Bill be passed by both Houses and signed by the President. When this is done, and not before, the country will be truly committed to independence for the Filipinos and we cannot afford to waste any time. Our friends now have probably the



power, if supported by the Administration, to pass such a bill. Two years from now, it may be too late as it is at least conceivable that the imperialists, under the name either of Republicans or Progressives may recover control of the House next year, and of the Administration in 1916. The important step is to pass the bill now. We have no time to waste in experiments and in "laying permanent foundations."

Now, in view of all this, is any anti-imperialist ready to disband the League or even to take a vacation and to trust our cause to chance or to Providence? We have much reason to feel hopeful, but only on the condition that we continue to work. We have no right otherwise to hope that God or the President will give success to our cause. Eternal vigilance, constant work, is the price of success. I am sure that I speak for the noble and patriotic and self-sacrificing members of this League when I say that our work is not yet done, and we will accept no discharge or furlough. Let us still hold up the standard of our high ideal; of the immortal Declaration of Independence and let us continue in every legitimate way to demand definite, binding, decisive action looking toward early and complete independence with neutralization of our long suffering Filipino subjects.

And let me repeat my earnest belief, always maintained through the darkest days of our struggle, that God in his own good time will surely bless our prayers and efforts with success.

DAVID G. HASKINS, JR., Treasurer.

## ANNUAL ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT, MOORFIELD STOREY.

Ladies and Gentlemen of the Anti-Imperialist League:

In addressing you a year ago I said that we might "go forward with renewed courage and with increased confidence in the triumph of our cause" since the Democratic party, pledged by repeated declarations to Philippine independence, had at length come into power.

I am now able to say, and I say it with peculiar pleasure, that our confidence has been justified. The nine months of President Wilson's administration have changed the political atmosphere absolutely, and have shown that he and his associates have a far juster appreciation of our obligations to other countries than has been exhibited by their Republican predecessors since 1898. The recognition of the Chinese Republic, and the refusal to countenance the combination of bankers who were trying to profit by its financial necessities marked the end of "dollar diplomacy." The message in regard to the Mexican situation appealed to and satisfied the conscience of the country. We cannot but sympathize with the President's attempt by moral pressure to free our Mexican neighbors from the control of a military despot, and to secure for them a government of their own choice, and we have confidence that he will do all in his power to accomplish these results. He is entitled to and should receive the cordial support of us all, for his policy is courageous and of lofty aim, and we must rejoice that the destiny of two countries is in the hands of a man whose purpose is so unselfish, although in our ignorance of the situation the way at times seems dark and the danger serious. Whenever the President has spoken on the questions in which this League as such is interested, he has expressed his sympathy with the fundamental principles of American liberty, and has given no countenance to the doctrine that the United States has the right to impose its rule upon another nation without its consent. We are breathing a new air and we are happy in the feeling of renewed freedom. We have a leader in whose principles and in whose sincerity we can confide.

The President's acts in dealing with the Philippine situation have realized our expectations. The appointment of the Hon. Francis Burton Harrison as Governor-General places at the head of the Island Administration a man whose public expressions show him to be heartily in favor of the policy which we advocate. The new American members of the Commission are doubtless in sympathy with him, and we shall therefore no longer have the island government controlled by men who are opposed to Philippine independence. Dean C. Worcester, justly obnoxious to the islanders not only because he has been an active opponent of their independence, but also because of his acts in office and the unfair methods by which he has sought to influence public opinion in this country, has retired from the Commission, and the official reports from Manila will not hereafter express the opinions of our opponents and the facts which they think it important to communicate. We may admit in justice that all men, consciously or unconsciously, are apt to magnify the evidence which supports their contention, and make light of that which helps the other side, and public officials are not exempt from this failing of our common humanity, especially when their policy is the subject of controversy. Still we may rejoice in the hope that facts which have seemed unimportant to Mr. Worcester and his associates may now be presented so that the country will have a fuller comprehension of the situation.

The appointment of three prominent Filipinos as Commissioners in place of three Americans, thus giving the islanders a majority of the Commission, is also a long step in the right direction. The Filipinos now control both branches of the legislature, and the differences between the Assembly and the Commission which have occurred during late years should now cease, or if they occur again the division will not be on racial lines. This increased power carries with it increased responsibility and greater opportunity, and we confidently expect that the Filipino Congress will exhibit such moderation and wisdom that all doubt as to the ability of the Filipino people to govern themselves will be removed. The future of their country is in the hands of the representatives, and I cannot doubt that they will stand the test.

Add to all these things the declaration of policy which was made by Governor-General Harrison in his inaugural address—"Every step we take will be taken with a view to the ultimate

independence of the islands and as a preparation for that independence, and we hope to move towards that end as rapidly as the safety and permanent interests of the islands will permit." The change in the number of Filipinos on the Commission is made "in the confident hope and expectation that immediate proof will thereby be given in the action of the Commission under the new arrangement of the political capacity of those native citizens, who have already come forward to represent and lead their people in affairs." Moreover the government which they are expected to establish "is not necessarily a reproduction of our institutions, but one which will guarantee complete security for life, liberty and property."

These words set before the Filipino people "the glorious object of entire independence." They are not held to any form of government, and steady progress towards independence is promised. There is here no countenance for the deceptive policy which begins by assuming that the islanders will be unfit to govern themselves for generations, and meanwhile proposes to bind them to us by financial chains in the hope that in time their aspirations for independence will be abandoned, and the islands become a permanent part of our territory. This declaration is a step forward which cannot be retraced, and it is not surprising that the Filipino Assembly realized its full meaning, and notified this country of the interpretation which the Filipinos place upon the message delivered by the new Governor-General. The resolution of the Assembly is as follows and should not be forgotten:—

"We, the representatives of the Filipino people, constituting the Filipino assembly, solemnly declare that it is evident to us that the Filipino people have the right to be free and independent, so that in advancing alone along the road of progress it will on its own responsibility work out its prosperity and manage its own destinies for all the purposes of life. This was the aspiration of the people when it took up arms against Spain, and the presence of the American flag, first on Manila bay and then in the interior of the archipelago, did not modify, but rather encouraged and strengthened the aspiration, despite all the reverses suffered in war and difficulties encountered in peace.

"The message of the President of the United States to the Filipino people is eloquent proof that we have not waited in vain. We accept said message with love and gratitude, and



consider it a categorical declaration of the purpose of the nation to recognize the independence of the islands.

"The epoch of mistrust has been closed and the Filipinos, upon having thrown open to them the doors of opportunity, are required to assume the burden of responsibility which it would be inexcusable cowardice on their part to avoid or decline. Owing to this, a few days have sufficed to bring about a good understanding between Americans and Filipinos, which it had been impossible to establish during the 13 years past. We are convinced that every onward step, while relieving the American government of its responsibilities in the islands, will, as in the past, fully demonstrate the present capacity of the Filipino people to establish a government of its own and guarantee in a permanent manner the safety under such government of the life, property, and liberty of the residents of the islands, national as well as foreign."

Finally we have the President's distinct statement in his message. After speaking of our duty in dealing with Hawaii, he proceeds:—

"In the Philippines we must go further. We must hold steadily in view their ultimate independence, and we must move toward the time of that independence as steadily as the way can be cleared and the foundations thoughtfully and permanently laid."

"At last, I hope and believe, we are beginning to gain the confidence of the Filipino peoples. By their counsel and experience, rather than by our own, we shall learn how best to serve them and how soon it will be possible and wise to withdraw our supervision. Let us once find the path and set out with firm and confident tread upon it, and we shall not wander from it or linger upon it."

Here is the present promise of future independence distinct and unequivocal, and the further assurance that we shall not linger on the way.

Nay, even our enemies feel the changed atmosphere and respond to the new inspiration. Thus Bishop Brent, long a leader among the obstinate opponents of independence, who has spent a very large part of the current year in the United States arguing against it and prophesying dire ills if the policy of the Democratic party is carried out, in a recent address at Lake Mohonk said:—

"I am going to speak on the subject of the National Awaken-

ing in the Philippines, and I believe that my topic, thus phrased, will at once place me in your eyes where I stand, as one who believes heartily in the coming Filipino independence, but I am going to add at once that that independence is going to be synonymous with liberty; it cannot be now or in the very near future."

His speech was largely devoted to supporting the thesis that no people can long preserve a national existence unless they are Christian, and by preference Protestant, and in the course of it he testified to Filipino capacity in such phrases as the following:—

"While Japan was wrapped in profound slumber, and China dreaming of her ancestors, the Philippine Islands were awakened by the one touch which arouses aspiration toward nationality as a permanence."

"Because the Filipinos have, however inadequate their belief may be, loyalty as a people to Christ, they have a hope of national self-realization beyond any people of the Far East."

"The Filipinos are the only people in the Orient who can be called Christian."

"The difference between the Malays and the Filipinos is the difference between darkness and dawn. So we find the extraordinary phenomenon of an Oriental people isolated in the Orient and part of the solidarity of the Western world."

"I know no instance in history where self-government has reached so high development in a dependency."

"It may be granted that there was a time when we needed to spur the Filipinos on toward independence, no such need now exists."

At the same meeting Bishop Oldham spoke with greater conviction:—

"I am a believer in men as men. I repudiate the idea that certain peoples are the heaven appointed guardians of other peoples for all time. Nor can I lightly admit that any people is 'inferior' if by that is meant that they are essentially without quality and must ever remain unprogressive and unfit."

"I believe greatly in the intellectual capacity of the Filipino and admire his ready response to all American efforts that have been made in the first fifteen years to educate and train him for self-government. Nor does he lack in moral quality which only needs opportunity for cultivation to afford a sound base for free citizenship. Both in development of this quality and

of political capacity he has made admirable progress in the fifteen short years of the American presence. He has not only disappointed the unfavorable forecasts of those who misjudged him, but he has, on the whole, outrun the expectations of more friendly onlookers.

"The Filipino who has made good so far can only come to his full development and to the full fruition of his hopes, to the legitimate consummation of his ambitions and to the full realization of his political self-hood by being given the entire care and responsibility of the administration of his own land.

"When I speak of Philippine autonomy, then, I mean such complete handing over of the Islands to the administration of the Filipino people as would leave them entirely independent and subject to neither the control nor the advice of the American government and without any further relations with the American people except those of friendship and good will.

"Could such a goal be now safely reached, there would be great profit both to the Filipinos, if they desire entire separation, and to the Americans. To the Filipino would come the immense satisfaction of being treated as a free and developed people fully capable of self-government and of so ordering their own affairs as to take their place among the self-governing nations of the world. To the Americans would come the deep gratification of having successfully accomplished what they set out to do: viz, to fit the Filipino for self-government.

"The actual grant of independence would therefore be a crowning act bringing to completion the splendid efforts we have put forth from the beginning towards this very end."

The Bishop thinks that more time is needed and I quote his words:—

"The last action of the President in putting a majority of Filipinos on the Commission is a bold venture in this direction which all friends of the Philippines will watch with intense solicitude. Many of us heartily approve it and sincerely wish that the appointees may make good.

"Give thirty more years of the beneficent training that the past fifteen have shown and we may more confidently commit an awakened and prepared people to the care of their own leaders in the pleasing belief that we had secured for all the people by reason of their own growth in knowledge and in sturdy independence of character a fair chance for real freedom under forms and leaders of their own choice. Our



stewardship will then be happily discharged; our trust be honorably fulfilled and all the people of the Islands be set on their way to worthy self-realization. The stars and stripes would come home with added lustre or remain floating over a people who had invited its permanent stay."

But at the very end there is the old hope that if we stay for thirty years we may overcome the desire for independence and be asked to remain. Neither Bishop really hopes or works for independence as an end, but both like Mr. Taft hope for permanent dependence. Yet it is interesting to read their professions of faith, and their testimony to Filipino capacity, and taking what they say at its face value, to find them agreeing with us in believing that independence is possible and desirable, and only differing with us on the question of time. The indefinite dependence which Mr. Taft urged becomes in Bishop Oldham's computation only thirty years. For this concession we may be grateful, but it does not satisfy us. We want more.

Mr. Taft and his supporters have always opposed any clear statement of this country's purpose to give the Philippines their independence. They have liked to talk vaguely of our benevolent purposes, and of the hope that in the distant future if the Filipinos still desire it, and the people of the United States think them fit for it, independence may be granted. But meanwhile their policy has been to strengthen the tie in every way, and especially not to make any definite promise, lest agitators might be encouraged and it would become only a question of time when the promise should be fulfilled. That promise has now been given and accepted, and it is now only a question of time. That is the great gain made since our last meeting.

So far so good, but much remains to do. It is not to be assumed that our opponents will abate their efforts; on the contrary they are well organized and abundantly supplied with capital, they have ready access to the columns of great newspapers and magazines, and they will continue to oppose the policy of the Administration. They have never dared openly to say that they favor holding the islands permanently. On the contrary they have justified our occupation on the ground that we are educating the Filipinos, preparing them for self-government, and meanwhile benefitting them by education, good roads, sanitation and like good things. They have insisted that our benevolent purposes would require indefinite genera-



tions for their full accomplishment, and have expressed the hope that at last the Filipinos would prefer to remain under our sway. We may be pardoned for believing that the hope which they seem to cherish is really their wish, and in this belief we must receive with caution all their bland professions, and look through their words to their acts. Their attitude is as old as tyranny, and we cannot but agree with Gladstone who, as his biographer John Morley says, "was never weary of protest against the fallacy of what was called preparing these new communities for freedom—teaching a colony like an infant by slow degrees to walk, first putting it into long clothes, then into short clothes, \* \* \* a governing class was reared up for the purpose which the colony ought to fulfil itself and as a climax to the evil, a great military expenditure was maintained which became a premium on war. During the whole of that interval they are condemned to hear all the miserable jargon about fitting them for the privileges thus conferred, while in point of fact every year and every month during which they are retained under the administration of a despotic government renders them less fit for free institutions."

The Philippine Society, "made up of those in favor of retaining the Philippines," the Fallows syndicate formed for the purpose of exploiting the Islands, Mr. Taft, Bishop Brent, Dean C. Worcester and others identified with the late administration will continue to oppose as they are opposing every step forward, and whatever they say is readily published in such papers as the Independent, the Outlook and the Boston Transcript, but the columns of these journals are closed to any reply. They deliberately present only one side of the controversy to their readers. The National Geographical Magazine gives a whole number to an article on the "non-Christian peoples of the Philippine Islands" profusely illustrated and calculated like other articles from the same author to give our people the impression that they present fairly the population of the islands. It is true that Mr. Worcester does not say so, and in every article will be found some statement to the contrary, but his attitude is so clear, he has labored so hard to present the uncivilized tribes, he has been so silent about the great majority of the people, that it is impossible to doubt his purpose. Readers are careless, pictures attract the eye, an impression is produced and qualifying statements escape attention. Moreover, Mr. Worcester is reckless in his statements. Thus in the

article to which I refer, he says: "The non-Christian peoples of the Philippine Islands constitute approximately an eighth of the entire population of the islands." In his interview at San Francisco given on November 18th, he said that they amounted to slightly more than 1,000,000.

On April 21, 1914, Mr. Taft stated that the population was "about 7,600,000 souls. Of these 7,000,000 are Christians and 600,000 are Moros or other pagan tribes" and these figures were taken from the last census.

If the 600,000 are now more than a million they have increased in ten years by some sixty-six per cent, or more. If this one million is one eighth of the entire population the 7,000,000 Christian Filipinos have not increased at all. If so where are the boasted results of improved sanitation, extirpation of smallpox and other diseases? Can any one believe that Mohammedans and pagans have multiplied so rapidly while the Christian population has stood still!

Mr. Worcester in his interview criticizes the appointment of a Filipino as Director of Lands, saying that he administers some \$7,000,000 worth of so-called Friar Lands purchased by the Insular Government from religious corporations in order that they may be resold to their occupants." There were about 396,000 acres worth some \$7,000,000 ten years ago, but large parts have been sold, notably some 60,000 acres to a syndicate of American sugar manufacturers who had never been occupants of the land. Of these sales he makes no account, though it appeared some years ago that of the Friar plantations some had been sold entirely. The work has largely been done, but he speaks as if it were all to do.

In like manner we have been entertained with statements that our commerce with the islands has increased by leaps and bounds, and figures to prove it have been published in the newspapers, but when it is said for example that between 1910 and 1911 the imports increased enormously, we are *not* told that this increase in figures was in great part due to the fact that in the latter year "government supplies and free railway entries" were included, while in the former year they were not, so that the alleged increase is largely a difference in the form of statement and not a difference in fact. If it were possible within any time that I can take to tell you what the tables show, and what the real history of any class of imports is,—if I could point out how enormous are the differences between

the figures given by the Insular Bureau of the War Department and the Bureau of Foreign Commerce in the Department of Commerce, you would be amazed. Let me give one or two examples. In 1908 the War Department gives the value of imports of iron and steel manufactures imported as \$800,753, while the Department of Commerce gives it as \$3,473,346, more than four times as much. In 1911 the War Department gives imports of agricultural implements as worth \$38,440, while the Bureau of Commerce gives the value as \$61,041, and like discrepancies occur wherever we look. The figures only confirm the opinion of the wise man who gave "statistics" the leading place among mendacious inventions. Mr. Taft, Mr. Worcester and the other retiring officers will continue to fill the papers with criticisms, prophecies of ill and statements emphasizing their own opinions and their pride in their own achievements. We shall be given no opportunity to refute them, and we must rely on the new officers to state the facts as they see them. Out of the conflict the truth will finally appear. I only wish now to beg you not to be disturbed or cast down by the statements of our opponents. If they were not aware that their statements will not bear discussion, they would welcome our replies. The fact that their newspapers will not give our side a hearing is a proof that they are afraid to let their readers know what we can say.

Governor Forbes is afraid of a new Mexico but the comparison is misleading. Mexico has suffered for many years under a government republican in form but in fact a corrupt despotism, and as always despotism has unfitted the people for self-government. Had the power been wielded by a body of foreign despots the result would have been the same. Men are fitted for self-government only by their own efforts, their own experience, their own successes, their own failures, and this is why we insist that the Filipinos should be relieved from government by an oligarchy of foreigners and left to learn the lessons which only freedom can teach.

Mr. Taft in a recent speech urged that to promise independence within any definite time "would be a failure on our part in maintaining the self-respect that we ought to have in discharging a responsibility that has come to us under circumstances we could not control and which we are quite able to discharge with comparatively small effort." He added: "We shall make a serious mistake if we follow the eloquence of the



smooth-spoken Filipino politicians who are looking hungrily for the exercise of a power which they are ill-adapted to wield for the benefit of their own people."

I quote these remarks because they are characteristic, remarking as I pass that what Mr. Taft as President a year ago described "as the heavy and difficult burden which thus far we have been bravely and consistently sustaining" he now calls "a responsibility" "which we are quite able to discharge with comparatively small effort." This indicates progress. But one wonders by what process of reasoning a sensible man can persuade himself that the Philippine Islands came "to us under circumstances which we could not control," when our action from the moment when we declared war on Spain till now has always been aggressive. No conqueror was ever responsible for injuries inflicted on the conquered if we were not, for surely no one forced any responsibility on us in this matter, and we on the contrary waged a long and bloody war, killing, wounding and torturing the Filipinos, destroying their towns and villages, laying waste their fields, and reconcentrating whole populations in order to establish our sway over the islands. What circumstances forced our destroying hands, and made us innocent of the crimes which we seem to have committed? Such a doctrine applied in ordinary life would empty our jails and nullify our criminal law. When Mr. Taft warns us not to trust the "smooth spoken Filipino politicians who are looking hungrily for the exercise of a power which they are ill-adapted to wield for the benefit of their own people," we are listening to words like those used by Lord North and his supporters about George Washington, John Adams and Alexander Hamilton. Nay, more, we seem to be hearing a speech made a year ago by Mr. Taft against Mr. Roosevelt, and we can find the same argument in any speech made by any Republican orator about his Democratic opponent at any time within twenty years. We ourselves are governed by men who have sought power "hungrily," but we do not on that account demand the intervention of a foreign nation. Such arguments are not convincing, they are mere statements of opinion, the common-places of political discussion, and as such not to be regarded. Mr. Taft is afraid that the Filipinos will fall under the sway of an oligarchy, "an oligarchy of orators," and he thinks their leaders are "unsympathetic with true democracy." When five Americans govern a nation of some eight millions of men whose



representatives can make no law without their consent, is that democracy? If that is to continue for generations, is that liberty? The oligarchy of which Mr. Taft was the leader seems good in his sight, but what definition of oligarchy can he give which will not include the American governors of the Philippines. It is not strange that the Filipinos do not recognize it as democracy, or that they would prefer oligarchs of their own flesh and blood to foreigners who regard and treat them as an inferior race.

Mr. Taft hopes that the removals made by Governor-General Harrison are not "the result of a tendency toward the spoils systems." The new Governor-General naturally does not want as his principal officers and assistants men who like Mr. Worcester think that everything he does is wrong and who are in distinct opposition to his views. No sensible man in his position could hope to succeed with subordinates like these, and an old official like Mr. Taft should have recognized the necessity of change. Since however he attacks Mr. Harrison he cannot complain if we remind him that the spoils system did not seem very terrible to him when he withheld patronage from men who opposed the Payne-Aldrich bill. Opposition quickens the conscience as to other men's faults.

Mr. Taft sets up a man of straw when he says that neutralization means that "in exchange for their treaties of neutrality with respect to the islands" we propose "to guarantee to the nations of the world that law and order will be preserved, and that there will be no civil commotion in which law and order cannot be maintained."

No one has ever suggested such a guarantee. We have called attention to the treaties which preserve the independence of Switzerland and other countries, but those treaties contained no guarantee by any nation as to internal peace and order in the country affected. Neutralization means that the nations will keep their hands off and let the Filipinos work out their own salvation, as every free country in the world has done, and as every country in the world with few exceptions is now doing. Mr. Taft is a good lawyer and should state the case fairly.

Mr. Taft and Mr. Worcester think very well of their own work. They are ready to praise every officer whom they appointed, and the whole policy which they have been carrying out. They feel that no one can do the work which the officers

under the late administration were doing, and that any step which they do not approve must be wrong. They are very human, but we must not languish under their disapproval, which is broad enough to embrace all Democratic officers and all Democratic policies. Mr. Taft says that Mr. Roosevelt and he promised the Filipinos independence "from the first and have always promised it." When and where was that promise made by either of them, and in what form of words, and if it was made, why does he criticize "the present declaration of the Administration that they are looking forward to ultimate independence, and why did he oppose "a present declaration of future independence?" It is gratifying to find that he is willing to admit that the Filipinos have always been promised independence, for even he now acknowledges that the only question between us is a question of time.

We have undertaken a new policy, and it is going to be carried out. Those who are displeased may criticize and prophesy evil, but the policy will not be abandoned, and I am sure that the event will confound these prophets of ill, and re-establish our confidence in the wisdom of our fathers when they announced the great principles of freedom as "self-evident truths."

The Moros have become the objects of peculiar solicitude. Mr. Taft is disturbed by the racial hatred of Moros for Filipinos, and says: "In no respect have the Filipino educated classes shown their incapacity for just government as in their treatment of the Moros and non-Christian tribes." A strange statement about men who never have had the control of the "Moros and non-Christian tribes," which were governed by Spain till 1898, and by the Americans ever since, as the Commission has had the exclusive jurisdiction over them. Substitute for the words "Filipino educated classes" the words "American officials" and the statement is true, as the records of our occupation abundantly prove. While Mr. Taft deplures their unhappy fate the Harmony Club of America has been formed for the purpose of raising a fund of \$100,000 to help Bishop Brent in "upbuilding the wards of the Nation." The call is signed inauspiciously by Bishop Fallows, whose son is the head of the Fallows syndicate, which in the Journal of Commerce is said "to be backed by Standard Oil capital." The Bishop himself visited the islands last year with his son and other representatives of the syndicate which travelled with a

representative of the Philippine Commission, and thus religion and dollars went hand in hand. The invitation to join this society begins by saying: "We are in the presence of a new and strange responsibility" to wit, the fact that in the Philippine Islands are what, with an exaggeration which I have already pointed out, are said to be "about a million wild men of the hill or Moro Mohammedans. Bishop Brent's plan is given in his own letter under date of September 1, 1913, and begins by saying that "The Moros are the only Mohammedans under the American flag. In this fact lies our chief responsibility and opportunity. The challenge of Islam is before us. Shall the crescent or the cross rule these wards of ours?"

The Bishop says that the Moros number about three hundred and fifty thousand, and in their province and neighboring territory are 150,000 pagans. He admits that "It would be futile at this juncture except in unusual circumstances to preach to the Moro. The history of his race has been such as to close his mind to Christian appeal. We must live our Christianity with him. The hospital, the school and the playground must be our pulpit." "The central aim is this: to place every Moro child under the direct guardianship of an American child or group of American children, or of parents and children." The details of the general plan are left to Bishop Fallows.

No one can criticize a missionary enterprise which contemplates influencing a people by good works and setting them an example of applied Christianity. No one can object to a plan which will make Americans, parents or children, take a living interest in the welfare of less fortunate human beings, but none the less the proposal comes from sources which make us hesitate to accept it. No wonder that the mind of the Moro is closed to appeal from Christian sources. He has thus far seen the representatives of that faith in the words of the soldier's song "Civilizing with a Krag." He has seen the United States making a treaty with him and treating him and his institutions including slavery with respect, so long as we did not wish him to support the other Filipinos in their struggle for freedom, but when that emergency had passed asserting our power in disregard of treaty stipulations and establishing over him a strictly military control. In the words of Bishop Brent himself—

"All that the wronged Moro knows of civilized peoples is



that they make magnificent weapons of destruction, and that they use them for the purpose for which they were made. The Spaniard began the work, and entering upon an evil inheritance we continued with more perfect weapons." The Jolo massacre, the expeditions and slaughters of General Pershing are poor examples of Christianity, and will be remembered long after these Mohammedans have ceased to be under our control. It would be strange indeed if the Moros loved us. With the words that I have quoted from Bishop Brent I am in cordial sympathy, but I cannot remember that we have heard from his lips before any condemnation of the water cure, the reconcentration, the killing, burning and torturing which has placed these Mohammedans under the American flag. If the Bishop is content to abandon the attempt to hold these islands by force against the will of their people, and is willing to rely only on the spiritual weapons mentioned in his letter as a means of helping these unhappy men, I will go with him heartily, but not otherwise. I object and always shall object to that missionary enterprise in which the soldier holds the victim down while the preacher tries to convert him. For no such combination is there any warrant in the teachings of the Master whose servants these bishops profess to be. I might also remind them that here in the United States where in Pennsylvania, as well as in Georgia and Mississippi, colored men are lynched and tortured while the community approves and the perpetrators of the outrages go unpunished,—in our country where apparently law-abiding men organize gigantic conspiracies to destroy life and property by dynamite,—there are a thousand savages for every one in the Philippine archipelago, and there is room for all the missionaries that benevolent Americans can support. Head hunters are not so dangerous or so numerous as dynamiters. This country is the place in which human brotherhood needs to be taught, and I wish that the dollars now sought in order to convert or civilize a few Mohammedans might be devoted to the far more pressing needs among our own people.

But all that I have alluded to properly interpreted means progress, but now is the time to secure our wish. Mr. Taft is abundantly satisfied with the results of American occupation, and is never tired of dwelling on all the benefits which we have given the Filipinos wholly at their expense. This last fact he does not magnify, nor does he dwell upon the expense of Amer-



ican government, every dollar of which the Filipinos have been forced to pay, save what we paid our army and navy to conquer and hold the islands. The question is not however, whether Mr. Taft is satisfied, but are the Filipinos satisfied. They have received all the good things which he names. Are they satisfied with their benevolent rulers and anxious to remain under their sway? The answer is a very emphatic "No." They do not want our benevolence, and they do want their independence. The government which a nation does not like after fifteen years' trial is a failure, and some bill like the Jones bill, some measure providing the machinery and fixing the date when the islands shall be free should be passed. Thus and thus only can Philippine independence be assured. Then and then only will the question be settled and all the forces of two peoples be set in harmonious action towards a common end. When this bill passes, if those who favor it are right, the troubles which Mr. Taft and his followers apprehend will not occur. If on the other hand he is right and it is made apparent that the Filipinos cannot establish a stable government, the time of our withdrawal can be postponed. If the bill is passed our policy is fixed and everyone will understand it. Time and other details are of comparatively small importance, and can be altered if necessity requires. If the bill is not passed we shall be told that all which has been done is of no legal effect, that as our opponents now urge the President has no power to deal with territory of the United States, and that therefore any promise made by him or any officer of the United States binds no one. At the outset of this unhappy business the Filipinos received assurances from various representatives of our government, as President McKinley and his Cabinet well knew. On the strength of these assurances they levied armies, risked their lives, supplied our forces with what they needed, and did all that as friends and allies they could do to aid us, only to be told that the promises so distinctly made and at the critical time so clearly approved by the silence of the President were worthless and they were fools to believe them. One experience of this kind is enough, and the Democratic party will not fulfil its repeated promises to the country if it suffers the next session of Congress to pass without such legislation as will commit this country to Philippine independence beyond doubt or question. Our opponents are fighting for delay, they will oppose every obstacle which ingenuity can suggest. They have

free access to the press. We cannot insist too strongly that the language of the Democratic platforms is clear, and that its promise must be kept. To delay is to play into the hands of our opponents,—it is to do just what they want. The present administration must act in such a way that the burden of delaying independence must rest upon those who would keep the islands, and not leave upon the Democratic party and those who have believed its promises the burden of obtaining at some future day the action by Congress which the Democratic National Convention promised should be “immediate.”

“We favor an immediate declaration of the nation’s purpose to recognize the independence of the Philippine Islands as soon as a stable government can be established,” not necessarily a government such as suits the people of the United States, but such a government as suits the people of the Philippine Islands, and because it suits them, is “stable” as no other government can be. It will not be a government which is perfect. It will not be one that Mr. Taft cannot criticize and say “all manner of evil things” about. While colored men are denied the suffrage in defiance of the Fifteenth Amendment, while lynchers go unwhipped of justice, while night-riders are found in Kentucky, and conspiracies are formed like that of the McNamaras, while Tammany threatens New York and politicians living and dead like Quay, Penrose, Lorimer and Cox control great cities and states, it is not for us to insist that the Filipinos must do what after centuries of experience we fail to do. We cannot insist that there shall be no chance of disorder with our record of strikes, riots and civil war. It is not a petty question of mistakes and frauds, but a great principle is at stake, and the Democratic party stands pledged to its support. All “governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed,” and from no other source. That is the sheet anchor of American liberty, and until that principle is recognized and applied in the Philippine Islands and in every other region beneath our flag, the United States is false to itself, and its people, denying freedom to others as Lincoln said “deserve it not themselves, and under a just God will not long retain it.” As the representative of that freedom for which America stands, the old as well as the new, we call upon the Democratic party to fulfil its promise, and not to stay its hand until the Philippine Islands are as they of right ought to be free and independent.

## OFFICERS OF THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST LEAGUE.

Mr. Rackemann and Mr. Berle were appointed a committee to distribute, collect and count ballots and reported the list of officers as elected:

### PRESIDENT

Moorfield Storey.

### TREASURER

David Greene Haskins, Jr.

### SECRETARY

Erving Winslow.

### EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Albion A. Perry.	Edwin Ginn.
James H. Bowditch.	Albert S. Parsons.
Frederick Brooks.	John Ritchie.
Edward H. Clement.	Frank B. Sanborn.
Charles Fleischer.	Fiske Warren.

President, Treasurer, Secretary, ex-officio.

### VICE-PRESIDENTS

#### ALABAMA.

President George H. Denny, Tuscaloosa.  
Prof. Edgar B. Kay, Tuscaloosa.  
Prof. H. A. Sayre, Tuscaloosa.  
Hon. Oscar W. Underwood, Birmingham.

#### ALASKA.

Martin Harrais, Esq., Chena.  
John Ronan, Esq., Fairbanks.

#### ARIZONA.

Frank P. Trott, Esq., Phoenix.

#### ARKANSAS.

Hon. W. M. Kavanaugh, Little Rock.

#### CALIFORNIA.

Hon. J. H. Barry, San Francisco.  
Rev. J. H. Crooker, Redlands.  
Mrs. Maria Freeman Gray, San Francisco.  
Chancellor David Starr Jordan, Leland Stanford University.  
C. F. Lummis, Esq., Los Angeles.  
Hon. Warren Olney, Oakland.  
William H. Rogers, Esq., San Jose.  
Very Rev. Geo. M. Searle, San Francisco.

#### COLORADO.

Hon. John A. Martin, Pueblo.  
Hon. T. M. Patterson, Denver.  
Hon. John F. Shafroth, Denver.  
Hon. C. S. Thomas, Denver.

#### CONNECTICUT.

Prof. Geo. T. Ladd, New Haven.  
Hon. Charles F. Thayer, Norwich.

#### DELAWARE.

William Canby Ferris, Esq., Wilmington.  
Hon. Richard R. Kenney, Dover.

#### DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

Dr. W. A. Croffut, Washington.  
Hon. Josephus Daniels, Washington.  
Samuel Gompers, Esq., Washington.  
Gen. Nelson A. Miles, Washington.  
Hon. Louis F. Post, Washington.  
Mrs. Alice Thatcher Post, Washington.  
Hon. Jackson H. Ralston, Washington.

#### FLORIDA.

Hon. Thomas M. Shackleford, Tallahassee.

#### GEORGIA.

Hon. James H. Blount, Macon.  
Hon. W. H. Fleming, Augusta.  
Gen. James Gadsden Holmes, Macon.  
Hon. Peter W. Meldrim, Savannah.  
Hon. Hoke Smith, Atlanta.

#### IDAHO.

Hon. Simon P. Donnelly, Lakeview.

#### ILLINOIS.

Miss Jane Addams, Chicago.  
Hon. Edward Osgood Brown, Chicago.  
Waldo R. Browne, Esq., Chicago.  
R. T. Crane, Jr., Esq., Chicago.



Prof. Starr Willard Cutting, Chicago.  
 Prof. William E. Dodd, Chicago.  
 Frederick W. Gookin, Esq., Chicago.  
 Prof. William Gardner Hale, Chicago.  
 Prof. Ira W. Howerth, Chicago.  
 Rev. Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Chicago.  
 Rev. Alonzo K. Parker, Chicago.  
 Dr. William Morton Payne, Chicago.  
 Mrs. Edwin Burritt Smith, Chicago.  
 Prof. Frederick Starr, Chicago.  
 Charles M. Sturges, Esq., Chicago.  
 Prof. A. H. Tolman, Chicago.  
 Sigmund Zeisler, Esq., Chicago.

#### INDIANA.

Hon. Cyrus Cline, Angola.  
 Hon. H. U. Johnson, Richmond.

#### IOWA.

Hon. Horace Boies, Waterloo.  
 Hon. Cato Sells, Vinton.  
 Hon. Henry Vollmer, Davenport.

#### KANSAS.

Hugh P. Farrelly, Esq., Chanute.

#### KENTUCKY.

James G. Howard, Esq., Lock.  
 Stephen D. Parrish, Esq., Richmond.

#### LOUISIANA.

Prof. W. B. Gregory, New Orleans.  
 Pres. E. L. Stephens, Lafayette.

#### MAINE.

President George C. Chase, Lewiston.  
 Dr. Seth C. Gordon, Portland.  
 Hon. Luther F. McKinney, Bridgton.

#### MARYLAND.

Hon. John V. LeMoyne, Baltimore.  
 Hon. George L. Wellington, Cumberland.

#### MASSACHUSETTS.

Magnus W. Alexander, Esq., Lynn.  
 Mrs. Charles Gordon Ames, Boston.  
 Rev. A. A. Berle, Cambridge.  
 Col. C. R. Codman, Brookline.  
 Rev. C. F. Dole, Boston.  
 Prof. Garrett Drovers, Williamstown.  
 Thomas B. Fitzpatrick, Esq., Boston.  
 Francis J. Garrison, Esq., Lexington.  
 Rev. Edward M. Gushee, Cambridge.

President G. Stanley Hall, Worcester.

Hon. J. M. Head, Boston.

Hon. Roger Sherman Hoar, Concord.

Prof. Lewis J. Johnson, Cambridge.

Hon. George W. Kelley, Rockland.

Henry W. Lamb, Esq., Brookline.

Hon. Samuel W. McCall, Winchester.

Edwin D. Mead, Esq., Boston.

Mrs. Lucia Ames Mead, Boston.

Hon. R. M. Morse, Boston.

James P. Munroe, Esq., Boston.

Gen. Francis A. Osborn, Boston.

Miss Emily L. Osgood, Lincoln.

Hon. Herbert C. Parsons, Greenfield.

Hon. Josiah Quincy, Boston.

Dr. Francis H. Rowley, Boston.

Rev. W. H. van Allen, Boston.

Hon. Winslow Warren, Dedham.

#### MICHIGAN.

Charles S. Hampton, Esq., Detroit.

Charles Humphrey, Esq., Adrian.

Rev. Jabez T. Sunderland, Detroit.

Rt. Rev. Charles D. Williams, Detroit.

#### MINNESOTA.

Frederick G. Corser, Esq., Minneapolis.

Hon. John Lind, Minneapolis.

S. A. Stockwell, Esq., Minneapolis.

#### MISSISSIPPI.

Hon. John S. Williams, Yazoo City.

#### MISSOURI.

John P. Herrmann, Esq., St. Louis.

William Marion Reedy, Esq., St. Louis.

#### MONTANA.

Massena Bullard, Esq., Helena.

Andrew Dunsire, Esq., Kalispell.

Edward Scharnikow, Esq., Deer Lodge.

#### NEBRASKA.

A. J. Sawyer, Esq., Lincoln.

Rt. Rev. Arthur S. Williams, Omaha.

#### NEVADA.

Dr. J. J. Sullivan, Virginia City.

#### NEW HAMPSHIRE.

Hon. Henry F. Hollis, Concord.

#### NEW JERSEY.

Ralph W. E. Donges, Esq., Camden.

Hon. Eugene F. Kinhead, Jersey City.

Hon. Francis E. Woodruff, Morris-town.



## NEW YORK.

Everett V. Abbot, Esq., New York.  
Rev. Richard W. Boynton, Buffalo.  
Andrew Carnegie, Esq., New York.  
R. Fulton Cutting, Esq., New York.  
Charles Stewart Davison, Esq.,  
New York.

Prof. John Dewey, New York.  
Austen G. Fox, Esq., New York.  
Henry W. Hardon, Esq., New York.  
Henry Hentz, Esq., New York.  
William Dean Howells, Esq., New  
York.

Prof. Jacques Loeb, New York.  
Hon. Thomas Mott Osborne, Au-  
burn.  
Rev. C. H. Parkhurst, New York.  
Mrs. Fanny Garrison Villard, Dobbs  
Ferry.

Oswald Garrison Villard, New York.

## NORTH CAROLINA.

President L. L. Hobbs, Guilford.

## NORTH DAKOTA.

A. C. Reinecke, Esq., Fargo.

## OHIO.

John H. Clarke, Esq., Cleveland.  
Hon. John J. Lentz, Columbus.  
Hon. Rufus B. Smith, Cincinnati.  
Edward Stang, Esq., Cincinnati.  
Hon. Brand Whitlock, Toledo.  
Charles B. Wilby, Esq., Cincinnati.

## OKLAHOMA.

Dr. D. H. Patton, Woodward.

## OREGON.

James Hennessy Murphy, Esq.,  
Portland.  
H. B. Nicholas, Esq., Portland.  
Col. C. E. S. Wood, Portland.

## PENNSYLVANIA

Samuel Bowles, Jr., Esq., Philadel-  
phia.  
Joseph Fels, Esq., Philadelphia.  
Dr. W. Horace Hoskins, Phila-  
delphia.  
Francis Fisher Kane, Esq., Phila-  
delphia.

Mickle C. Paul, Esq., Philadelphia.  
Frank Stephens, Esq., Philadelphia.  
Dr. Robert Ellis Thompson, Phila-  
delphia.  
Herbert Welsh, Esq., Philadelphia.

## RHODE ISLAND.

Hon. Lucius F. C. Garvin, Lonsdale.  
Edwin C. Pierce, Esq., Providence.

## SOUTH CAROLINA.

Willie Jones, Esq., Columbia.  
Hon. James Simons, Charleston.

## SOUTH DAKOTA

Hon. Levi McGee, Rapid City.  
Joseph B. Moore, Esq., Lead.  
Hon. Richard F. Pettigrew, Sioux  
Falls.

## TENNESSEE.

Hon. John Wesley Gaines, Nash-  
ville.

## TEXAS.

Frederick Opp, Esq., Llano.  
Hon. James L. Slayden, San  
Antonio.

## UTAH.

P. J. Daly, Esq., Salt Lake City.

## VERMONT.

Major F. W. Childs, Brattleboro.  
Rev. Charles H. Pennoyer, Spring-  
field.

## VIRGINIA.

Dr. Paul B. Barringer, Charlottes-  
ville.  
Prof. James Hardy Dillard, Char-  
lottesville.

## WASHINGTON.

C. G. Heifner, Esq., Seattle.

## WEST VIRGINIA.

Hon. A. S. Johnston, Union.  
Hon. John E. Stealey, Clarksburg.

## WISCONSIN.

William George Bruce, Esq., Mil-  
waukee.

## WYOMING.

Hon. John C. Hamm, Cheyenne.

## REMARKS BY HON. SAMUEL W. McCALL.

There appear to be only three ultimate solutions to the Philip-  
pine problem. One is that we shall hold those islands as  
colonies; another that we may develop a capacity for self-gov-  
ernment and ultimately turn the control of the Islands back  
to the people who inhabit them, and the third that we shall  
treat them as we have all other sufficiently populous territory  
acquired before the Spanish-American War and admit them as

States in the Union to take part in the common government of us all. I imagine no one in the country believes that we should admit them as States into the Union. I know of nobody who advocates holding them perpetually as colonies. The only remaining solution is to make it our chief aim to fit them for self-government with a view to letting them manage their own affairs. If that is true why should not Congress, which is the political department of our government, make a declaration to that effect precisely as was done in the case of Cuba? Our frank treatment of the Cuban problem has retained for us the friendship of the people of that Island. There was all the more reason why we should make the same declaration with regard to the Philippines. No other policy is admissible consistently with the principles of our Government. We believe the people should rule and are always proclaiming it. But what do we mean by that? Certainly not that our own people should rule over distant and alien peoples. If our professions or democracy are anything but a pretense and a sham they put an end forever to any claim that we should permanently govern those people nearly ten thousand miles from our Capitol. Lincoln once said: "When the white man governs himself, that is self-government; but when he governs himself and also governs another man that is more than self-government—that is despotism." In my opinion the practical policy we should adopt with reference to the Philippine Islands is to make a declaration now from the political department of the government that it is our intention to fit them as speedily as we may, for self-government, in the words of Mr. Roosevelt, "after the fashion of the really free nations" and then leave them to govern themselves. In the meantime we should secure agreements with the great powers neutralizing their territory as Switzerland is neutralized in Europe so that they may be free from conquest by other nations. That policy is embodied in a resolution chiefly drawn by Mr. Story and introduced by me into the House of Representatives. Train their people for government by giving them a participation in it. If we would have them walk we must at least permit them to creep. If we are ambitious to bear the white man's burden we need not go far from our own shores to find it. We have ten million people in our own country who are American citizens and are counted in the distribution of political power that chooses our agents of government and yet they are not permitted to vote. There are countries upon this

continent for which we advertise a peculiar responsibility which are far from having governments worthy of the name. The Philippine Islands never presented an American problem, but since we have taken them let us try to solve the questions coming with them consistently with the spirit of our American Institutions.

## REMARKS BY LIEUT. EDWARD O'FLAHERTY.

In 1899, on my first visit to the Philippines, I was a volunteer officer in an infantry regiment which I had assisted in organizing. My observations were confined to the Province of Luzon east of Manila, and to a few of the adjacent islands. We had been told volumes about the seventy or eighty "wild tribes" in the country, and I therefore was greatly surprised at the intelligence and refinement of the natives whom I saw wherever we camped, near the towns and barrios, when hiking through the hills and valleys of the war-cursed island. One of my first surprises was to find the *senoritas* able to distinguish between a regular and a volunteer officer of the Army.

I think the majority of the troops did not realize the kind of people against whom they were waging such a devastating war. They underrated the ability of the educated natives, and they committed unspeakable crimes against the poor, defenseless, but dignified *taos*, whose language they did not understand.

In those early days the insurgents and other Filipinos were called "niggers" by the Americans, and treated as beings of inferior intelligence, much too primitive to have a government of their own. A captain of our regiment was court-martialed and acquitted for temporarily hanging any peaceable native he suspected of having knowledge of the *insurrectos*, or their rifles. The second lieutenant of my company used to boast of the way he disposed of his prisoners on the march. He gave them over to their tribal enemies who took them back into the jungle, whence they never returned alive. I was an eye witness of one unpleasant incident during my service in Luzon. It was the attempt of a soldier to kill several women and children while they were wading the *Mariquina* river on their peaceful way to Manila. He fired five or six times from an out-post, but not being a crack shot, the natives escaped injury. The mother of the girls came by our station, and, in answer to my inquiry as to their safety, replied sadly, "Too mucha boom-boom."



The war begun by the United States against the Filipinos was a war of criminal aggression and systematic misrepresentation to acquire a supposedly rich colony, and to entrench the imperial administration of William McKinley and Marcus Aurelius Hanna. For the first time in our history we forced our flag upon an unwilling people struggling for freedom. The Filipinos had then fought two wars for independence, and had succeeded in establishing a Republican government in the islands. The insurrection united them against us as nothing else could have done.

The Wilcox-Sargent journey through Luzon in 1898 proved that Aguinaldo controlled the country, that his government was running smoothly, and a few years later the Civil Commission found the natives surprisingly ready to assume control of their own affairs. Anarchy would not have prevailed in the Philippines had the United States withdrawn in 1899. On the contrary, an orderly government of the Filipinos, by the Filipinos, and for the Filipinos, would have been evolved. The dreadful experiences of our troops in pacifying the country after the war would have been unknown, and while the natives may not have achieved the degree of educational and industrial progress we find today, their government would have been their own, the best possible government for them and free from the expensive rule of the conqueror. They probably would not have spent \$2,000,000 on a single highway! Last year, on my second visit to the Philippines, in spite of all the benefits which have been purchased with the Filipinos' money, I could not help realizing that it was by deception and the bayonet we forced our government upon a brave and patient people fighting the third time for independence, and now, after training them a decade for self-government, we were unwilling to say when they should be given their independence.

It was a great surprise also to learn that the seventy or eighty "wild tribes" has dwindled to a negligible few, in a total population of some 8,000,000 natives. The official exploiter of "wild tribes" had gone out of business.

Independence for the Filipinos, under the protection of the United States, until the neutralization of the archipelago by treaty with the Powers, is the best solution of the Philippine problem for us, as it is the best one for the Filipinos. This independence and protection may well begin on July 4, 1921, the four-hundredth anniversary of the discovery of the islands by Magellan.



With free trade in the Philippines the Powers would be vitally interested in maintaining the treaty of neutrality, and this should help make permanent to us the open door in China.

The United States must wage a relentless commercial war with the nations now pressing for the control of China. To succeed in keeping open the door of trade and commerce in Asia for our merchants and manufacturers would be far more profitable than to retain the Philippines, and attempt to establish a Monroe Doctrine in the China sea, 7,000 miles from our shores. This would serve to unite all nations against us, might involve us in an enormously expensive war, and bar us from the trade of six or seven hundred millions of people. The acquisition of expensive colonies in the Far East will never give us equal trade power with the nations now entrenched on the mainland of China. To win the gratitude of the millions of Asia, and maintain peaceful relations with the Powers, in the greatest commercial race the world has ever seen, would insure us a prosperity infinitely greater than we could win by another war in the Far East, and government by force.

As in the last century we could not exist half free, half slave, so today we cannot hold in subjection an alien race praying for independence. By gradual purchase of the slaves we could have prevented the most disastrous, the most unnecessary war in our history. Given the choice today between war and peace with slow emancipation, which would we choose?

The words home, country, independence, liberty, equality, fraternity, mean the same to the Filipinos as to us. If our flag means what our ancestors fought and died for, then the tropic star of the Philippines should be in the azure field of their own flag, not in ours.

#### ADDRESS BY HON. ROGER SHERMAN HOAR.

A century and a half ago, what is now our glorious country was a subject colony. Over us floated the red-white-and-blue of freedom—not our red-white-and-blue, but the red-white-and-blue of England, which stood for freedom there and oppression here. Patriotic Englishmen vowed that where once the flag had been run up, it should never be hauled down.

The Anglo-Saxon race had led the world in the struggle for freedom; yet in spite of this, the rulers in England did not recognize that the principles of freedom applied to any other nation than their own. They regarded our forefathers as incapable of self-government.

Our forefathers denied the materiality of that contention, and claimed self-government as a right. They met the question, "Are you able to govern yourselves?" with the question, "Is any man good enough to be a despot?"

Our forefathers contended that all men are created free and equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; and that to maintain these rights governments are instituted among men deriving their just powers from the consent of the government. And so they brought forth upon this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal. The new nation founded a new flag and proved its capacity for self-government.

Then came the experiment of trying to exist half free and half slave. The experiment failed and the nation received a new birth of freedom. The red-white-and-blue received a new meaning as the flag of freedom.

Fifteen years ago we ran up that flag of freedom over the Philippine Islands. The party in power at that time was one that based its principles upon the proposition that even our own citizens are not capable of self-government, but must delegate their governmental powers to a chosen few. Believing thus as to their fellow-citizens, is it to be wondered at that this political party denied the right of self-government to an alien race?

Disregarding history, this political party again tried the experiment of maintaining a country half free and half slave. Again it was asserted that a flag once run up should never be hauled down. Again it was contended that a subject colony was incapable of self-government, in entire disregard of the right to self-government.

But now the party of freedom has triumphed in this country, vindicating the right of our own people to govern themselves, through representatives. It is altogether fitting and proper that from this party should come the first promise of freedom to the Filipino people.

Now the Filipinos can gaze upon the red-white-and-blue, floating over them, no longer as the flag of oppression, but as the flag of the promise of freedom.

At close of Mr. Hoar's address meeting was dissolved.

25.515  
n 8r  
1.16  
LIBRARY  
OF THE  
UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS  
1 FEB 1915

You are earnestly asked to hand  
this, after reading, to some other  
person who will also give it care-  
ful consideration.

# REPORT

OF THE

## Sixteenth Annual Meeting *(ADJOURNED)*

OF THE

## Anti-Imperialist League

DECEMBER 7, 1914

---

PUBLISHED BY  
THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST LEAGUE  
BOSTON

The Everett Press Company  
Boston



325.373  
An 8r  
Y.16

## REPORT

The Sixteenth (adjourned) Annual Meeting of the Anti-Imperialist League, December 7, 1914, was called to order by President Moorfield Storey, at two o'clock, in the rooms of the Twentieth Century Club, 3 Joy Street, Boston.

### REPORT OF THE SECRETARY

The present status of Philippine affairs which confronts us at the Sixteenth Annual Meeting of the Anti-Imperialist League as bearing upon its chartered purpose "to oppose by every legitimate means the acquisition of the Philippine Islands or of any colonies away from our shores by the United States" is involved in H. R. No. 18459 entitled "A bill to declare the purpose of the people of the United States as to the future political status of the people of the Philippine Islands, and to provide a more autonomous government for those islands." This bill was reported by Hon. W. A. Jones, chairman of the Committee on Insular Affairs, August 26, taken up and discussed in the House of Representatives September 26, and passed by the House, with a few amendments, October 14. In this discussion Mr. Jones, the staunch advocate of Philippine independence, in spite of a condition of enfeebled health, bore a brave part, the more difficult since his personal prepossessions, expressed in the terms of his former bill, were overruled by powers "higher up." Mr. Quezon made a series of eloquent and well-reasoned speeches in behalf of his people, was ever keen to correct misstatements in debate, and ready to answer inquiries with characteristic courtesy and an acumen that converted many a veiled attack into a boomerang which floored the assailant. The debate brought out the declaration, made thus officially for the first time by Republican leaders, that the permanent retention of the Philippine Islands, our "heel of Achilles," was their design and intention.

5F15DIRECT 6171 16  
Continuation. 3-1-16

The bill awaits action by the Senate during the session which commences to-day. It is understood that the President desires that it should be included in the programme as what is called an administrative measure. It may be well to give an extract from Chairman Jones's report accompanying the bill, and a very brief outline of its contents, though, as the bill deals substantially with local government in the Philippine Islands, its preamble alone has immediate application to our objects:

"Whereas it was never the intention of the people of the United States in the incipency of the War with Spain to make it a war of conquest or for territorial aggrandizement; and

"Whereas it is, as it has always been, the purpose of the people of the United States to withdraw their sovereignty over the Philippine Islands and to recognize their independence as soon as a stable government can be established therein; and

"Whereas for the speedy accomplishment of such purpose it is desirable to place in the hands of the people of the Philippines as large a control of their domestic affairs as can be given them without, in the meantime, impairing the exercise of the rights of sovereignty by the people of the United States, in order that, by the use and exercise of popular franchise and governmental powers, they may be the better prepared to fully assume the responsibilities and enjoy all the privileges of complete independence."

Of the bill Mr. Jones says, in his accompanying report, that it "recognizes and gives definite expression to the view of all qualified persons without distinction of party that it is not the purpose of the United States to retain permanent sovereignty over the Philippine Islands. The declaration of the precise date when final separation from the United States will occur is therefore dependent upon, in the opinion of all, a conclusive demonstration that the Filipinos are capable of managing their governmental affairs in a proper manner. . . . It has, therefore, not been deemed wise to attempt to fix the precise time for establishing Philippine independence, inasmuch as conditions may be of a nature to render possible such separation even sooner than could be properly fixed in an act of legislation. The theory upon which the proposed measure has been framed is that the Filipino people possess the capacity for self-government and are

entitled to enjoy it. It is believed that with the opportunity for conclusive demonstration of their ability in this direction the date of complete independence will not be long deferred. . . . In addition to the fact that the President has the absolute veto power upon all legislation, it is further true that, as to certain important subjects, his prior assent must be secured before the laws relating to them become valid. And there is expressly reserved to the Congress of the United States the right to annul any or all legislation enacted by the Philippine Legislature. It is evident that these restrictions and limitations absolutely prevent the enactment by any future legislature of the Philippines, so long as the Islands sustain their present relations to the United States, of any laws that might be unwise and injurious to their people, or which might in any way prejudicially affect the United States or any citizen thereof.

“Inasmuch as this bill contemplates the discharge of a great national obligation owing by the people of the United States to the people of the Philippine Islands as well as to themselves, and provides the governmental machinery which will, it is believed, enable the Filipino people to demonstrate to the world their capacity to govern themselves, as well as their inherent and God-given right to a separate and independent existence, your committee respectfully recommends its passage. To these general considerations it adds the argument that the measure is to-day urgently demanded for the purpose of providing against a serious financial emergency. It must not be forgotten that the untoward and entirely exceptional conditions which affect the commercial relations of all the nations of the earth at this time also, for the same reasons, most disastrously affect the financial and commercial interests of the Philippines and therefore clothe this bill with the character of an emergency measure.”

The bill may be thus summarized:

It declares who shall be deemed to be citizens of the Philippine Islands, and confers upon the Philippine Legislature authority to provide for the acquisition of citizenship by certain other persons, among them citizens of the United States residing in the Islands. At present, whilst citizens of all European countries residing in the Philippines may now be granted Philippine citizenship, those of the United States are debarred.

It re-enacts the bill of rights set forth in the organic act containing substantially the personal and property guaranties of the Constitution of the United States.

It provides that all expenses incurred by the Philippine Government shall be paid by that government; that all the powers now conferred upon the Philippine Legislature and the Philippine Commission may be exercised by the Philippine Legislature authorized in this bill; that the laws now in force in the Philippines shall so continue until changed or repealed by the legislature created in this bill or by act of Congress; and that such legislature shall have power to amend or repeal any law now in force when not inconsistent with the provisions of this bill.

It transfers the whole of the public domain acquired from Spain by the United States, except such portions as the President may designate for military and other reservations of the United States, together with the undisposed-of portions of what are known as the "friar lands," to the Government of the Philippines, to be administered for the benefit of the inhabitants thereof.

The legislature created by this bill is empowered to enact tariff, currency, and coinage laws; but all of its enactments relating to those subjects, as well as to public lands, timber, and mining, must receive the approval of the presidents of the United States before they become effective; and it is also expressly provided that the trade relations between the Philippines and the United States shall be governed exclusively by laws of the Congress of the United States.

A Philippine legislature, consisting of two houses, to be known as the senate and house of representatives, is established, in which is vested all legislative authority. The Islands are to be laid off into twelve senate and ninety representative districts, one of these senate and nine of the representative to be established in territory not now represented in the legislature, or what is known as the Moro and non-Christian Provinces. The two senators and nine representatives who shall represent these districts are to be appointed by the Governor-General without the consent of the Philippine senate and without restriction as to residence. The remaining twenty-two senators and eighty-one representatives are to be elective.

The suffrage provisions of the existing law are so enlarged



as to grant the right of suffrage to those who read and write any native language. The present law limits this class of voters to those who read and write either English or Spanish.

The formal activities of the League, acting through the Executive Committee, are enumerated:

March 17, 1914.

A Letter to the  
HON. FRANCIS BURTON HARRISON,  
Governor-General of the Philippine Islands.

*Dear Sir:*

We have refrained from writing to you before only because of the fact that our organization (however unjustly) is branded as political, while your high office must be beyond even unjust suspicion of partisanship.

But as citizens of the United States we feel that we are at liberty to express the opinions of a large group of like minded persons who have admiringly appreciated the success of your difficult and responsible administration of Philippine affairs. We know something of the complicated nature of the situation; the opposition of these interests which were counting upon the drift toward permanent colonialism as a guaranty of their investments or their business operations; the bureaucracy which had grown to be such a dangerous and powerful element; the American press in the Islands the hostile and bitter enemy of every concession made to the Filipinos; the powerful missionary influence exerted to prevent interference with proselytism in a Roman Catholic country; and the natural jealousies and discordancies (though so wonderfully insignificant) among the Filipinos. Back of all we recognize the temporary annoyance caused by the malevolence of a portion of the American press, directly or indirectly subsidized by large financial interests, eager to disseminate and to magnify every element of doubt or uncertainty in the progress towards the promised Philippine independence.

You have conducted your high office, however, with calmness and dignity, but with an inflexible purpose to carry out the instructions of the Executive, while the succession of events has entirely justified your action and contradicted calumnies set

afloat, even before they had time to receive currency. We believe that with us you are looking towards the legislative promotion of the course being pursued towards the Philippine Islands, which is soon to follow.

We are confident that you have engraved your name deeply upon the hearts of the Filipinos, and that it will be preserved as that of him who has done the largest practical part in carrying on to its fulfilment one of the greatest acts of national atonement and restitution recorded in history.

We are your obedient servants,

(Signed) MOORFIELD STOREY, *President*.

ERVING WINSLOW, *Secretary*.

To this letter Governor-General Harrison replied:

BAGUIO, May 9, 1914.

*My dear Mr. Winslow:*

Permit me to thank you, and through you the Anti-Imperialist League, for your letter to me of March seventeenth conveying the sentiments of the Anti-Imperialist League upon the present current of events in the Philippine Islands.

Your letter reached me last week upon my return from a trip in the Mountain Province, and it was a very great gratification to me, as an official and personally, to receive the appreciative and complimentary approval you expressed. The presence of the two races here in the Islands renders the conduct of an administration in the Philippines subject to unusual difficulties, and there is need for all of us here to exercise great calmness and prudence in the handling of the many questions that are presented to us. We have all done our very best to carry out the announced policy of President Wilson in the Philippine Islands, and your words of appreciation are a very great satisfaction indeed to me. An extraordinary amount of misrepresentation of the accomplishments of this administration in the Islands has appeared in some of the newspapers in the United States, but I am glad to see that you and your associates have not been misled by the publication of these inaccurate reports.

(Signed) FRANCIS BURTON HARRISON, *Governor-General*.

These communications were made to the President:

April 24, 1914.

PRESIDENT WOODROW WILSON,  
White House, Washington, D. C.

The Executive Committee of the Anti-Imperialist League most earnestly appeals to you to delay all further movements in Mexico to the end that the great curse of a long and terrible war may be averted; that the serious and recognized danger, however little we may now expect it, of forcible annexation of Mexican territory as a result of such war may be avoided, and that time may be given for some concerted action if possible with the great European and South American countries, looking towards the restoration of peace and order in Mexico.

(Signed) MOORFIELD STOREY, *President*.

July 17, 1914.

TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES:

The Executive Committee of the Anti-Imperialist League desires to express again its profound appreciation of the great step which was taken towards the establishment of international good feeling when the President and the Secretary of State accepted the offer of mediation in the controversy with Mexico. This is in happy contrast with the action which the United States alone proposed to take, and which would surely have excited the suspicion among all our Southern neighbors that our purpose was aggression. The consultation with our sister states has given the stamp of national approval to the principle of international concert, whatever may be the direct effect upon the Mexican situation. It must exercise a great influence in promoting general adhesion to a spirit of fair dealing between nations, with a consequent reinforcement of faith in free government at home, which is a very important additional advantage. The conspicuous recognition of our common interests with Argentina, Brazil, and Chile will be remembered hereafter, and its beneficent effect will be far-reaching. It may well help to secure popular support for the pending proposition to neutralize the Philippine Islands by a joint treaty between the United States and eight other nations, a consummation devoutly to be wished.

(Signed) ERVING WINSLOW, *Secretary*.

The following resolution was passed by the Executive Committee July 16 and sent to Mr. Quezon:

*Resolved*, That the Anti-Imperialist League approves the bill, H. R. 18459, entitled "A bill to declare the purpose of the people of the United States as to the future political status of the people of the Philippine Islands, and to provide a more autonomous government for those islands," and earnestly urges that the H. J. 275, "requesting the President to consider the expediency of effecting a treaty with the European powers providing for the neutralization of the Philippine Islands and the recognition of an independent government there when established," be also passed at the present session of Congress in order that a question which has vexed the American people for sixteen years may be placed in the way of speedy settlement, and that the promises of the Democratic platform, on which the people of the United States have relied, may be carried out as far as is done by these measures.

During a "time of hesitation," when action on Philippine affairs in the House of Representatives seemed problematical, the following communication was made to Senators individually:

*Dear Sir:*

The President does not promise to urge the Jones Philippine bill at this session. Its details might involve considerable debate. But a joint resolution like the inclosed need not involve debate, and we *beg* you most earnestly to make personal solicitation of the President that he will press its passage at this session of the Senate, in which case Mr. Jones undertakes to promote it in the House.

The reasons why the President might be urged to fulfil the pledge of the party now are these:

(1) Restlessness in the Philippines is inevitable if all action be delayed; (2) The result of the autumn elections may weaken the prospects of such a party measure; (3) The influence of the "interests" opposed to independence is gathering constantly accelerated power; (4) As so strongly argued by Mr. Storey, "short-session promises" are, in general, unreliable; (5) The enemy is openly advocating permanent colonialism.



The Philippine Assembly made a fervent appeal to the Government for prompt action. It has been withheld until now in the confidence that such action was to be taken immediately.

(Signed) ERVING WINSLOW, *Secretary*.

MANILA, March, 1914.

TO THE UNITED STATES CONGRESS:

We, the Representatives of the Filipino people, constituting the Philippine Assembly, solemnly make the following

#### DECLARATION

To hereby ratify the national aspiration for independence, so repeatedly expressed by this Assembly in previous sessions, especially in that of 3 February, 1911, certifying thus our faith in the immortal principles of the Declaration of Independence made by the American people in 1776. That declaration, although written by Jefferson, belongs to mankind and ever endures.

Superior to pride of race, sometimes displayed in the guise of feigned benevolence, and superior to national ambition misled by the ephemeral glory of imperialistic exploitation, all history shows that the growth and true grandeur of a nation have their surest foundation in the principle of government by the people and for the people underlying transitory derelictions and continued from generation to generation.

We consider the policy of the present President of the United States and of his representative in the Philippines, the Governor-General, as rightly inspired by the principles of that Declaration, in this respect differing absolutely from the former Administration which, possessed by the ideal of colonial expansion, could only declare its policy in the Philippines with vague and indecisive words. The present administration from the very first entered upon its sphere of action with positive and definite declarations as to what, in its judgment, ought to be the future of a Christian people numbering eight millions, placed merely by the unforeseen disaster of war under the control of the United States.

Those definite declarations have been made in spite of persistent and apparently organized effort, principally of those who, being responsible for having established a government by force

in violation of the fundamental theory of the consent of the governed, assumed now, under the specious pretext of concern for the Filipinos, to hinder in every possible way the United States from rendering full justice to the Filipinos.

The President of the United States, as leader of the party in power and as expositor of the present ideas of his people, has already taken an advanced position for correcting wrong theories about the Philippines set forth in fifteen years of Imperialist administration. It now belongs to the constitutional authority of Congress to settle definitely the urgent claims set forth in our behalf with honor to the American people and justice to the Filipinos. Besides the fundamental principles of government established from an early date with such toil and pain by those who like ourselves sought liberty from oppression, the controlling party in Congress fortunately has another precept, specific and recent, solemnly adopted in three previous National Conventions, that, finally ratified at Baltimore, assisted in winning the campaigns which succeeded in electing the present Congressional majority. Respectfully and earnestly we urge the prompt adoption by Congress of those legislative measures which in its wisdom it believes ought to be approved to give immediate effect to the promises of independence for the Philippines.

As for us Filipinos, we consider indispensable for our life as a people the prompt adoption of such legislation, not only because we are struggling at the disadvantage of many miles distance with representatives for the time alienated from our own soil and our own methods and without the right of a vote against powerful opponents, but because we consider it vital for the permanent efficiency of our efforts in favor of the progress and prosperity of our people that the security of our future should be placed in our own hands.

In urging immediate control of our affairs we are not acting from a headlong desire to sustain the heavy burden of new responsibilities, but because we ardently and eagerly desire to establish the permanent basis of our political nationality, so that, step by step, with confidence and security, moving conservatively and avoiding needless and abrupt changes, we may build up with our hands, block by block, and amenable to the final and righteous authority of the popular conscience, the governmental structure which will have as its principal duty to

promote the welfare, preserve the peace, and protect the life, liberty, and property of the natives and of such worthy foreigners as may live and establish themselves on Philippine territory.

## JOINT RESOLUTION

“Declaring the purpose of the United States to cease exercising sovereignty over the Philippine Islands and to establish an independent Republic therein, and requesting the President to endeavor to obtain the co-operation of the principal nations of the world.”

*Resolved*, By the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

That it is the purpose of the United States to cease exercising sovereignty over the Philippines and to establish an independent Republic therein. That the President be requested to endeavor to obtain the co-operation of the principal nations of the world in recognizing and preserving such independent government, upon such terms as may be deemed best, and report the same to Congress for its approval.

No result followed this correspondence, as the Philippine bill was taken up in the House.

It should be observed that the neutralization resolution which had been urged by the League to accompany the Philippine bill was not promoted by its supporters, and an amendment involving it presented by Representative Burgess of Texas (as presented by him in 1904 and at every subsequent session of Congress) was rejected. The present conditions in Europe may have influenced the result, but the following letter, which the Committee sent, will show that in its opinion the resolution would have inspired confidence in the Philippines, and would have been a valuable testimony to the doctrine.

September 16, 1914.

TO THE BELGIAN DELEGATION.

*Your Excellencies:*

The Anti-Imperialist League, believing that the neutralization of small countries is a very long step toward the preserva-

tion of international peace, and an important curb upon aggressive imperialism, desires to express the indignation and horror with which it has seen Belgium and Luxemburg invaded, and the people of Belgium visited with all the terrors of war, in violation of solemn treaties guaranteeing that the territory of each country should be inviolable; and it hopes that when this war ends the losses which the people of Belgium have suffered will be made good, so far as it is humanly possible, and the independence of both Belgium and Luxemburg re-established upon a foundation which is not hereafter to be shaken.

(Signed) MOORFIELD STOREY, *President*.

ERVING WINSLOW, *Secretary*.

September 22, 1914.

*Mr. President:*

The members of the Mission sent to the United States by His Majesty the King of the Belgians were very touched by the hearty words with which you greeted them at Boston. We know, as I have had the honour of saying to the President, that the American people distinguishes itself by its high sense of justice. It is a great comfort for us to feel how much the cause of Belgium excites the sympathy of all men who in this country work for peace in the world. They understand that Belgium was compelled to fight for her independence, her liberty, and her honour, and the tribute they give to our country in the present crisis is very appreciated by the whole nation.

Thank you for your kind words. I have full confidence in the triumph of justice, and I am sure that the friendly attitude of all civilized nations shall help us greatly in the struggle going on.

(Signed) H. CARTON DE WIART.

At the Lake Mohonk conference last October the Hon. W. Morgan Shuster said some good words:

"It is perfectly useless to speak about letting generations pass,—two, three, or four,—and then giving them (the Philippine Islands) independence. . . . I have been in the Islands for a number of years, but I do not think any man could say that the Filipino people could not start a stable and independent government if given the opportunity to-morrow; and they might maintain it without serious difficulty for all the rest of time."



But against this sentiment,— uttered there by another speaker, — that the United States should ever say to the Filipinos, “You may retain a political relationship with us, if you prefer,” which also found expression in the platform adopted at Lake Mohonk, the League emphatically protests. It is from the American point of view that we shall unceasingly demand the entire withdrawal of our sovereignty over the Islands.

Of the Anti-Imperialist League’s officials we have lost with great sorrow:

Edwin Ginn, from a long membership in the Executive Committee. His eminently practical idealism was a constant support to the work of the League. His name is added with respect and affection to the long roll of good citizens departed by which our annals are illustrated;

Our late Vice-President Joseph Fels, who added aid and sympathy for the League to the many beneficent activities of a life of great public service. We commemorate his life and character with those who benefit, and will continue to benefit through generations, by his fruitful work for the betterment of social and economic conditions;

General Francis A. Osborn, who was our first Treasurer, had been since his resignation one of our most honored Vice-Presidents. He was at the heart of the movement for the formation of the League, and his active support and sympathy had never slackened. General Osborn’s high character, universal popularity, and recognized leadership in political reform were of much value to the League in the dark and difficult days of the organization;

We have had to mourn the death of Mrs. Edwin Burritt Smith, whose name the League had the honor of enrolling among its Vice-Presidents after the death of her husband,— the first citizen of Chicago, and one of the early heroes of the cause. Mrs. Smith’s sympathy and support were continued for our work, as it was for all the reforms, educational, political, and social, in which her husband was a leader, and in which she had been a wise counsellor and efficient helpmate;

The death of the Hon. Francis Eben Woodruff deprived us of the excellent service of one of its most efficient officers. His connection with the League as one of its Vice-Presidents was no mere honorary one, but was accepted by him with a serious purpose of devotion to its cause which was splendidly fulfilled. Mr. Woodruff's experience in public affairs, re-enforced by his cool judgment and fertility of suggestion, made his counsel invaluable, and he was that best of friends,— a frank, outspoken critic. His communications to the press were frequent and impressive. He was always ready to join, and often initiated, movements for approach, in behalf of our cause, to legislative and executive officials, by epistle, petition, or address. The loss of his constant correspondence will be greatly felt by the administrators of the League. The large collection of it in our archives constitutes a valuable library of reference which will perpetuate the memory of this wise and good man.

Not among our official membership in the year's necrology were:

Mr. William Endicott, who was, like so many public-spirited men of the period, in full sympathy with our movement from the time of the inauguration of the League, contributing liberally to its treasury and becoming the first chairman of its Executive Committee:

The Rev. John Snyder, who used a brilliant and prolific pen in behalf of the cause. His contributions to the press — pungent, incisive, and witty — were very valuable and effective.

## NEW DOCUMENTS CIRCULATED

Fifteenth Annual Report of the Anti-Imperialist League.

Address before the Fifteenth Annual Meeting of the Anti-Imperialist League, Moorfield Storey.

"Worcester and Aguinaldo," Hon. Francis E. Woodruff, from *Springfield Republican*, December 8.

"Disputes Taft's Philippine Argument," Hon. Winslow Warren, from *New York Evening Post*, December 9.

Same, as a leaflet.

- "The President and the Carabaos," Moorfield Storey, from *Boston Herald*, December 18.
- "The Philippines and India," Erving Winslow, from *New York Evening Post*, January 16.
- "The Sorrows of Empire," Dr. Robert Ellis Thompson, from *Irish World*, January 24.
- "An Order in the Philippines," Erving Winslow, from *Springfield Republican*, January 26.
- "The Philippine Societies," Erving Winslow, from *Johnstown Democrat*, February 7.
- "A New Phase of Filipino Independence," William S. Lyon, from *New York Evening Post*, March 6.
- "Philippine Changes," Hon. Manuel L. Quezon, from *New York Times*, March 21.
- "Filipino Finance," William S. Lyon, from *Springfield Republican*, April 10.
- "No Slavery in the Philippines," Erving Winslow, from *Springfield Republican*, May 26.
- "The New Freedom in the Philippines," Speech of Hon. Manuel L. Quezon, House of Representatives, July 11.

Together with these many previously printed pamphlets and leaflets have been supplied without charge to inquirers for information or for debating material.

ERVING WINSLOW, *Secretary*.

# REPORT OF THE TREASURER

THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST LEAGUE, IN ACCOUNT WITH DAVID G. HASKINS, JR., *Treasurer.*

*Dr.*

To amounts expended from December 3, 1913,  
to December 5, 1914.  
For Postage, Express, Messengers . . . . . \$569.74  
" Stationery, Telephone, Telegraph . . . . . 203.24  
" Typewriting . . . . . 547.50  
" Printing . . . . . 136.40  
" Office Rent . . . . . 300.00  
" Annual Meeting . . . . . 32.20  
" Sundries . . . . . 4.45  
" Balance to New Account . . . . . 68.53

\$1,862.06

*Cr.*

By balance on hand December 3, 1913 . . . . . \$32.31  
Gifts, and Contributions in Response to Special Appeals . . . . . 1,318.00  
Annual Subscriptions . . . . . 507.75  
Lunch and Membership Fees . . . . . 4.00

E. and O. E.

DAVID G. HASKINS, JR.

\$1,862.06

## AUDITOR'S CERTIFICATE

I hereby certify that I have audited the accounts of David G. Haskins, Jr., Treasurer of the Anti-Imperialist League, for the year beginning December 3, 1913, and ending December 5, 1914, and that I have found them to be correctly cast and properly vouched, and that he has a cash balance of \$68.53 deposited in the New England Trust Company of Boston.

Boston, December 5, 1914.

R. A. SHAW, *Auditor.*



In presenting his fifteenth annual report your treasurer knows that he speaks not only for himself but for all the Executive Committee in expressing again profound admiration and heartfelt gratitude for the devotion and fidelity of the noble men and women in all parts of the country who, in some cases out of their extreme poverty, have furnished the means to carry on the work of the League. With the all-sufficient inspiration and guidance of the Golden Rule and the Declaration of Independence, they have patiently striven to bring our beloved country back to its earlier and better principles, and to restore independence to the injured Filipinos. They have displayed that truer and more generous type of patriotism which seeks the moral rather than the political greatness of the country, which is more concerned with ideals than with markets, and which scorns international truculence, hatred, and greed, which sometimes bring the name of patriotism into deserved contempt.

We have now been carrying on the work for sixteen years. In this time sickness and death and other causes have made many inroads in our ranks. Our receipts have greatly diminished. Our expenditures have necessarily been reduced. We have found it hard this year, even with the aid of special appeals, to raise \$1,800. The great war absorbs popular interest and makes it harder to collect money. Here and there some doubting member of the League thinks it time to cease our efforts.

Well, what shall we do? The cause we know to be of vital importance. The very fundamental ideals of this democratic republic, the rights of a brave, alien race, subjugated by our military power, are at stake. The question is still undecided. The United States are not yet committed to the independence of the Philippines.

It is true something has been gained. The Democratic Party, repeatedly pledged by its platform promises to grant such independence, is in power. They have sent out a new Governor-General to the Islands who is in sympathy with our principles. They have given control of the Philippine Commission, as well as of the Assembly, to the natives. They have appointed more Filipinos to office in place of Americans. And this is so far good. But they have refused to pass the Jones Bill, to which the Party seemed committed before the national election of 1912, and which promised definite and absolute independence to the

Islands, and have substituted a new bill, now pending, increasing still further the native control of the government, but containing only a vague academic statement of our intention to grant them independence at some time in the future. Is this satisfactory to us Anti-Imperialists? Is this living up to the spirit of the Democratic Platform? Whatever others may think, to me it is a great disappointment. The United States Government is at last in the hands of our friends; but a subtle change seems to have come over them,—a change which was cynically predicted, but which your treasurer, himself a life-long Democrat, firmly refused to believe would occur. It is believed in influential circles in Washington that the American people are more interested in other matters, and as a natural consequence the Philippine question has been postponed again and again. Pressure from the people is needed. If they are in earnest about the matter they must make it manifest. If they are not they should be educated and aroused. If the Administration and Congress are indifferent, public opinion must be awakened, shaped, and brought to bear upon them.

The situation to-day makes it more important than ever that America should go back to her good old policy of minding her own business and avoiding foreign entanglements. The same evil imperialism which led us into the Philippines has of late shown itself in a more insidious form in our dealings with Mexico, Santo Domingo, Nicaragua, Honduras. It is becoming a national habit, a part of the world craze that has set all Europe on fire. We can realize now more clearly, since this terrible war began, what dangers lurk in the policy. Even if we were deaf to the pleas of the Filipinos for justice, we must see now how our forcible possession of a subjugated and discontented people on the other side of the world makes us more liable to international quarrels. And should we in the future become involved in a great war (which may God in his mercy forbid!) — remembering that competent naval authority has declared that our dependencies require us to maintain a navy twice as large as we would otherwise need — we can see what a source of weakness and danger such a subject state would be which could not be successfully defended, but which would certainly require the presence of ships and men which might be imperatively needed to defend our own country.

The Anti-Imperialist League is the only organized representation to-day of the men and women of America, from Maine to California, who demand prompt justice for the Filipinos and an abandonment of all imperialistic interference with other peoples. For sixteen years it has actively and aggressively maintained a fight for the ideals of the Declaration of Independence; a fight for the independence of the Philippines; and to-day it stands opposed to the same wicked and unpatriotic craze for imperialism wherever it manifests itself.

If this work of organizing and crystallizing public sentiment on the subject, which should be powerfully aided by the lessons of the great war, is to be done, the League will naturally take the lead.

In view of all these circumstances, is this a time to relax our efforts? Is it not, rather, a time to increase them? To enlarge our membership, to continue our work with renewed vigor, to keep the subject constantly before Congress and the Country, to maintain the standard of old-fashioned democratic Americanism? If so, we shall need money in larger quantities. It should be contributed regularly, in sums much greater than the \$500 of annual subscriptions. It should be provided in some way without the unpleasant necessity for urgent special appeals. Perhaps a finance committee might be appointed to consider the question and to make suggestions and arrangements. All good things are possible, with the blessing of God, if only we will work hard enough for them. Is this particular work worth doing?

It is for the League to answer.

DAVID G. HASKINS, JR., *Treasurer.*

## ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT

We are all anti-imperialists to-day. We have lived to see imperialism bear its perfect fruit and bring upon the world the greatest calamity of which human history has any record. Cambyses, Tamerlane, Alexander, the Cæsars, Attila, the Kings of Spain, Napoleon, each in turn, to gratify an unholy ambition, have brought ruin and death to countless human beings, have set back the civilization of mankind, and have paved the way for the destruction of their own empires. For every conqueror, man or nation, the avenger waits, and it would seem that men should have learned the danger of trusting individuals with absolute power. We fancied that the day of great wars was over, that Peace Congresses, arbitration treaties, and Hague tribunals had come to provide peaceful methods of settling the quarrels of nations and promoting the brotherhood of men. We were constantly told that the great armaments under which the nations of Europe have groaned so long insured peace, and that we needed a similar insurance.

Now all these illusions have vanished and we find the great civilized nations of the world engaged in a desperate contest on three continents and on every sea, sacrificing the flower of their youth, throwing away the wealth heaped up by years of skilful industry, destroying the monuments of which the world has been proud, and filling a reservoir of international hatred which cannot be emptied till the memory of this contest has been obliterated by at least a century of peace.

We see a great and powerful people, naturally able and highly educated, the leaders of the world in many departments of thought and labor, flouting their most solemn engagements, visiting a peaceful nation, which had not injured them, with every extremity of barbarous war, sparing nothing that the world has held sacred, and possessed as one man with the idea that they have the right to pronounce their neighbors decadent, to take from them such of their territories and property as they desire, to impose upon them their own ideas of civilization, and to



trample upon and destroy anything and everything that stands in the way of their accomplishing these objects. No treaty restrains them, no appeal to humanity or the rights of others affects them, and they adopt the principles and methods of the highwayman when they exact from their innocent victims enormous sums of money at the point of the bayonet. They seem actually to repeat the famous prayer uttered by the Earl of Leicester in "The Critic":

"Behold thy votaries submissive beg that thou wilt deign to grant them all they ask, assist them to accomplish all their ends, and sanctify whatever means they use to gain them."

They insist that war was forced upon them, yet no nation dreamed of attacking them. Their territory and their possessions the world over were secure. No colony that they possessed was equal in value to the cost in blood and treasure of a month's war upon them, and no nation or group of nations had anything to gain by provoking them. *They* only contemplated and were prepared for war, and their preparation was complete. *They* only were ready on the instant to attack and overrun their neighbors. It was not to protect themselves that this war was declared by the Germans, but to cripple their neighbors. It was not the fear of losing what they had that led them to attack, but the fear of being distanced in the race to acquire the property of others. Germany could have prevented this war, but Germany desired it. She drew the sword, and sooner or later she must perish by the sword. If her theories and her methods triumph, civilization has been set back for centuries.

She boasts of her cultivation. I have many friends in Germany, men as refined, as gentle, as humane as any men I know, and of course the proportion of such men among the Germans is as large as elsewhere, but to-day as a people the Germans are insane. They welcome the suggestion that they imitate the Huns and the Vandals, and as the names of those barbarians are used in our common speech to describe savage brutality of every kind, so the name German, hitherto synonymous with education and civilization, will be degraded in men's speech to the same use. Let me quote the distinct avowal of Major-General von Disfurth in a Hamburg newspaper:

“Frankly, we are and must be barbarians, if by this we understand those who wage war relentlessly to the uttermost degree. . . . There is nothing for us to justify and nothing to explain away. Every act, of whatever nature, committed by our troops for the purpose of discouraging, defeating, and destroying our enemies, is a brave act, a good deed, and fully justified. . . . For my part, I hope that in this war we have merited the title of barbarians. Let neutral peoples and our enemies cease their empty chatter, which may well be compared to the twitter of birds. Let them cease to talk of the Cathedral of Rheims and of all the churches and all the castles in France which have shared its fate. These things do not interest us. Our troops must achieve victory. What else matters?”

Let me add the words of a civilian in the *New York Sun*:

“To us the war is still war; not a game played by nice international rules, but fire and sword, battle and murder and rape. The country that our armies fight over will not defy us again, and we shall, I hope, in a few months, prove to the world the effectiveness of our system. . . . You call us ‘barbarians’; but is that a term of reproach? You say that a German victory would put the world’s progress back for a century; but is that a loss? Is it not well that the force and vigor of the barbarian should sweep away the weakness and over-refinement of modern civilization, the nice distinctions and fine shades that your authors love and your moralists prate of? Has not the wave of humanitarianism and regard for human life gone too far, and is it not time that the barbarian should rouse again and remind the world that the old rule, ‘Let that one take who has the power, and that one keep who can,’ is the law of life?”

We rub our eyes when we read such words, and wonder in what century we are living. The Germans would do well to recall the words of the Persian poet:

"He who has a thousand friends has not a friend to spare,  
And he who has one enemy will meet him everywhere";

for they are equally true of a nation. We must shudder to think what an inheritance of enmity awaits the coming generations of Germany when this madness has passed and they come to count the cost. The King whose memory they revere, Frederick the Great, would have taught them better; for while England was struggling to crush the American Revolution, and incidentally at war with France, Holland, and other powers, he said, as Sir George Trevelyan tells us, that "the British people were greatly to be pitied, and the time was not distant when their blind submission to the caprices of their rulers would be recognized as having been fatal to the security of the British state." The like submission of the German people will have a like effect.

The Germans speak of their culture as the ideal civilization. In their present mood they do not know what civilization means. Let me describe it in the words of a great Irishman, the Lord Chief Justice of England, Lord Russell:

"What indeed is true Civilization? By its fruit you shall know it. It is not dominion, wealth, material luxury; nay, not even a great Literature and Education wide spread — good though these things be. Civilization is not a veneer; it must penetrate to the very heart and core of societies of men.

"Its true signs are thought for the poor and suffering, chivalrous regard and respect for woman, the frank recognition of human brotherhood, irrespective of race or colour or nation or religion, the narrowing of the domain of mere force as a governing factor in the world, the love of ordered freedom, abhorrence of what is mean and cruel and vile, ceaseless devotion to the claims of justice. Civilization in that, its true, its highest sense, must make for Peace."

Contrast these words with those of the Kaiser when he sent his troops to China in 1900, not to engage in war, for no war was declared, but to act with other civilized nations in what was called an expedition to rescue their embassies.

"When you meet the foe you will defeat them.

No quarter will be given; no prisoners will be taken. Let all who fall into your mercy be at your mercy. Just as the Huns a thousand years ago under the leadership of Attila gained a reputation in virtue of which they still live in historical tradition, so may the name of Germany become known in such manner in China that no Chinaman will ever again dare to look askance at a German."

The English Chief Justice upholds the teachings of Christ, the Kaiser the example of Attila; and to-day, on the plains of Belgium and France, his soldiers are obeying his instructions. In this we see the sure fruit of imperialism.

When we see these doctrines professed by Germany, and read, day by day, of the ruin which they have brought and are bringing upon the world, we recoil with horror, and perhaps thank our stars that "we are not as other men are."

Vain delusion! The Germans are sure that their culture is the best in the world, and that they are serving mankind by extending its area as widely as possible, and imposing it by force upon their weak and inferior neighbors. Is this doctrine strange to us? Have we not occupied the islands of the Filipinos by force? Are we not insisting that they are inferior, and that our civilization is far superior to theirs? Have we not killed them by hundreds of thousands, laid waste their country, burned their towns and villages, herded them in reconcentration camps, tortured them, and visited them with every extremity of war in order that we might impose upon them our superior civilization? We see clearly the wrong which Germany is committing, but have we not done the same thing, though on a less conspicuous stage and on a smaller scale? Nay, more; the Kaiser is applying the doctrines in which he was brought up, and in which he believes with his whole heart. He is doing what he has been taught to think right. We are sinning against light, and doing what we have been taught to think wrong.

"Four score and ten years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal." "We hold these truths to be self-evident" among others "that govern-



ments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed." These are our household words. It was to overthrow the power of the few over the lives and fortunes of the many that our fathers fought the Revolution. It was to avoid just such calamities as now afflict Europe that this government was established. Unhappily, the very doctrine which now makes Europe a vast shambles has lately been planted in this country, and we excuse our action in the Philippines by the very argument which Germany uses to justify her attack on Europe. In the Philippines we see imperialism in the green tree. In Belgium we see it in the dry. Should not every American who sees what Europe suffers to-day resolve that the men who have died for liberty in this country "shall not have died in vain," and that this poisonous root of imperialism shall be extirpated before we become wedded to doctrines which, before this war is ended, will prove the ruin of Germany, and perhaps of all her enemies; for this is a struggle in which no one can win and every one must lose.

Not only in its essential features is the parallel complete, but even in little details the resemblance is striking. The Chancellor of Germany sneers at the treaty which assured the independence of Belgium as "a scrap of paper." I was sorry to find my friend Cameron Forbes saying at Mohonk:

"Even before the utter worthlessness of international agreements of neutrality had been demonstrated by recent events in Europe, I have ridiculed the idea of substituting a silly scrap of flimsy paper for a strong administrative control backed up by the guns of Corregidor, recognizing, as I did, that without any advantage to any party, we would have given up the strong argument of our administrators, our flag, our soldiers and our guns, for the weak one of some verbal promises which would last only as long as they remained in the interest of all parties concerned, and no longer."

As well say that all contracts among men and treaties between nations should be done away with because they are sometimes broken. A treaty neutralizing a country is as sacred as any treaty; and what must be the future of the world if re-

spect for all treaties is abandoned. The "scrap of paper" saved Belgium from invasion in 1870, and if Germany is defeated in this war she will owe her defeat in no small measure to her disregard of its binding force.

This war will demonstrate not that such engagements are "silly scraps of flimsy paper" to be ignored at will, but compacts that can be broken only at the deadly peril of the transgressor. We may well hope that its way will be made so hard in this case that in future no nation will be tempted to follow its example. But it is curious to find an American imperialist so readily adopting the words of the German Chancellor.

Though in this matter I criticize Mr. Forbes's speech at Mohonk, I find it otherwise encouraging, and I shall dwell upon it as evidence that our cause is making progress. He admitted that there is much to be said in favor of our view that every people should be left to govern themselves, learning "competence by experience" and wisdom by their mistakes, which was the view of the great men who founded this Republic. He stated his own view as follows:

"I have never advocated permanent retention of the Islands by the United States, against the will of the Filipino people, although I am not at all sure that some permanent affiliation would not be best for both countries; neither am I sure that it would. My position, outlined at the time I took up the reins of government, and constantly adhered to in every public utterance that I have made from that time to this, has been a very simple one. I have said, and I say now, that I do not know what political relationship will prove to be wisest for both countries to assume at any given time in the future; that, without entering into the political capacity of the Filipinos for self-government, they are not economically fit to maintain a separate government, because they cannot maintain an army and navy and pay the expenses of their own development from their slender revenues, and need outside assistance in order to protect them from being swallowed up by other countries."

This is a very temperate statement, which shows that Mr. Forbes and we are not as far apart as we were, or thought we were. He is not dogmatic; he is not sure that permanent affiliation between the countries is to be desired; and he does not rest his case on the incapacity of the Filipinos for self-government. He opposes independence on the ground that they are too poor "to maintain an army and navy and pay the expenses of their own development from their slender revenues," and therefore need outside assistance to protect them from being swallowed up by some other country. Since they have paid out of their own revenues every dollar that has been spent on schools, roads, sanitation, and all the other benefits which the United States claims to have bestowed on them since we took charge of their destinies, while this country has only paid the expenses of the army and navy used to hold them in subjection, the question becomes simply this: Is the ability to support an army and navy a *sine qua non* of independence? If it were, how rare would be an independent nation. Out of nearly fifty nations represented at the last Hague Conference only seven had navies worth mentioning, and most had no navies at all. No small nation can ever hope to maintain a navy which will be an adequate defence against any of the colonizing powers, and it is better off with none at all, for its ships would only pass to the enemy in case of war.

Is an army more essential? We all devoutly hope to see Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and Switzerland remain as independent countries, but we have just seen how little any army which either can maintain would avail against the armies of Germany, France, or Russia. Must they therefore be absorbed by their neighbors? We who for a century have never thought a large army essential to our safety, and whose present military force is insignificant, can hardly preach that doctrine, nor can we be expected to maintain a large army for the protection of the Philippines. They cannot depend on us, and if they become independent they will, like all but the most powerful nations, maintain a force sufficient to preserve order and not undertake to have a large army. That in case of attack they can defend themselves our own experience of four years gives ample proof.

Judged by the test of Mr. Forbes all small nations would

cease to be independent because they are small and cannot protect themselves against the most powerful nations, and this is a proposition which the world is not prepared to admit. We cannot deny them independence on that ground, and if we do, we deny it forever; for the day will never come when the Filipino nation will be as strong as some nations, though it will be stronger than others. This war will destroy the aggressive force of the great powers for years to come, and it is therefore peculiarly the fitting time to launch a new nation. Our name, not our arms, protects them now, and we may be sure that when the present war ends, the nations of the world will be glad to gratify us by joining in a treaty which will neutralize the Islands and preserve their independence. Not one name but many will then protect them, and they will have time to develop and to solidify their government before any new generation dares to follow the German example and attack an independence which the world has guaranteed.

I have spoken of Mr. Forbes's speech as a sign of progress, and, remembering how heartily I hailed the election of Mr. Wilson as a decisive victory for our cause, you will ask me whether our hopes have been realized. Let me ask you to answer this question for yourselves after hearing the facts. It is now some twenty-one months since the present administration came into power,—months crowded with problems which would tax the powers of the ablest man. The question of revenue, a revolution in our banking system, the regulation of trusts, the problems arising in our relations with Mexico, and finally this unexampled war, to say nothing of the daily difficulties which beset the man who is charged with administering the laws that govern a hundred million people, were enough to occupy every moment of the time. It is not surprising that the President did not immediately grapple with the Philippine question; but his delay taxed our patience. When he did act, his action was wise. He removed the Commissioners who did not sympathize with the policy to which the Democratic Party stands pledged, and replaced them by men who, with one exception, have justified the wisdom of their selection. He gave the Filipinos a majority of the Commission, and thus placed in their hands the upper as well as the lower branch of the Philippine Legislature. Governor-General Harrison has brought to the discharge of his duties



ability, industry, tact, and sympathy with the aspirations of the Filipino people. The disagreement between the Commission and the Assembly which had lasted for some years has ended, and the two bodies have acted in entire harmony. The evils so freely predicted by Dean C. Worcester and other retiring officials have not happened, and their active propaganda against the new administration has accomplished nothing.

Especially gratifying is the testimony of Commissioner Denison, formerly Assistant Attorney-General under President Taft and appointed as a Republican. He is the Secretary of the Interior, and was called by the Americans in Manila "The White Hope," apparently because they thought he would array himself against the Filipinos. No better or more pithy statement of our principles has ever been made than his speech contains, and I am going to quote his verdict on the Harrison administration. After announcing that in his judgment the money of the Filipinos must be spent "for them and not for ourselves," he cites cases where schools and hospitals were neglected in order that money might be spent for scientific purposes of no value to the Filipinos, and shows by practical experience how anxious they are to spend their money for what they really need, like roads and schools. He concludes:

"Therefore, on the issue which lies between the Taft régime in the Philippines, and the Harrison régime, I am for Harrison. I believe that the Government here was out of sympathy with the people, and he has brought it into sympathy with them. I believe that the Government here was upside down, and he has turned it right side up. These things he has done with a total absence of selfish or partisan purpose, with a deep confidence in the principles of democracy, and with a moral courage which I deeply respect, and which will, I believe, command the support of the American people as soon as they know the facts."

This is testimony which cannot be ignored, and I might add to it much from other sources to the same effect, but I cannot trespass on your time. I will, however, quote Mr. Denison's statement of the case, for no better one can be made.

“But, what is the true ‘White Hope’ here?

“Is it any military advantage of the American nation? Surely not. From the military point of view, by all accounts, the enterprise is a great and serious danger to us.

“Is it for any American commercial advantage? Is it to make money for ourselves? Surely not; because we have pledged our sacred honor as a nation to conduct ourselves here solely for the benefit of the Filipino people?” . . .

“Is there any object? Is there any ‘White Hope’ which we can entertain here consistently with this sacred pledge?

“None that I can see, absolutely none, except only the advancement of the principle of democracy.

“What peculiar function have we different from other nations, except to spread throughout the world the principle of liberty?

“They say that if we do not hold an iron hand here the Filipinos will establish an oligarchy, with the caciques overmastering the taos.

“Is that a reason why we, a democracy, should transform ourselves into an oligarchy?

“To save the taos from the caciques, should we make ourselves caciques — even benevolent caciques — over the whole people?

“Are we to commit the absurdity of trying to teach democracy by exhibiting an autocracy?

“Are we to stand before the world as crusaders of democracy backed with bayonets?

“Are we to stand before the world for the proposition that we are for democracy for ourselves, but not for the other fellow?

“So long as we maintain the function of colonial government over this people, are we to do it in a monarchical way and thereby confess to the world the failure of democracy? Or are we to do it in a democratic way, and thus assert to the world the possibilities of democracy?

"I say that the fundamental principle of our country demands that, so long as we continue responsible for these people, we shall do our share of their government as partners, and not as masters.

"That is the way, and the only way, in which we can hope to advance the spirit of democracy in the Orient. It is the way in which we have acted in China, in Japan, in Siam, to each of which countries we have given advisers in the administration of government, professors in many branches of learning, engineers to aid in the construction of great enterprises, physicians, teachers.

"To these and not to any forcible power is due the advance of the democratic spirit which is leavening these countries and, through them, the Orient."

The whole speech should be read by every American who would understand the Philippine question.

We have abundant cause for rejoicing that men like Mr. Harrison and Mr. Denison now represent our country in the Islands instead of men like Mr. Worcester, and we may hope everything from their continued service. We cannot but feel increased confidence in the President, to whom we owe these excellent appointments. But this is done in the exercise of the President's appointing power, and may be undone by his successor. It needs legislation to make it permanent. This is the object of the bill reported by Mr. Jones of Virginia, our steadfast friend in Congress, and passed triumphantly by the House of Representatives, receiving Republican as well as Democratic votes. This bill does not, like the former Jones bill, fix a date for the establishment of independence, and so makes haste more slowly than we in our enthusiasm could have wished; but it is none the less a long step forward, and perhaps less likely to be retraced. It contains "a solemn declaration of the intention and purpose of the United States to recognize the independence of the Philippine Islands as soon as a stable government shall have been established therein." This puts into a definite form the vague assurances which Mr. Taft and others have hinted at but have never been willing to make explicit. It commits this country to the true policy, and after this act is passed every one

must understand that it is no longer a question whether the Filipinos shall be free, but only when.

In the next place it gives the Islands an elective Senate as well as an elective Assembly, and so vests in them the whole legislative power, subject only to a qualified veto by the Governor-General and an absolute veto by the President of the United States. It gives the islanders the opportunity to show the people of this country that they can govern themselves, and by actual demonstration to settle the question between those who believe them unfit for self-government and those who, like ourselves, believe with the founders of this government that no people is fit for any government but self-government. The bill proposes a fair trial, and if our opponents shrink from a test which we welcome, it only indicates their fear of the result — their lack of faith in their own arguments.

If this bill was a finality I should oppose it, but it is avowedly only a step to be followed by complete independence. The Filipinos can and must continue their agitation until this end is secured, and we shall help them. It is making haste slowly, and perhaps the real speed is greater. We hope so.

This bill will come before the Senate at this session of Congress, and I cannot doubt that it will pass. The House of Representatives by an overwhelming majority has endorsed it, the President approves it, the Democratic Party, in platform after platform since 1898, has promised at least this, if not more. The Democrats control the Senate, and if they fail to pass a measure so clearly demanded by their pledges to the American people, so absolutely in accordance with the great principles of the Democratic Party, they will simply make a record of broken promises which will justly cost them the support of many voters who now trust them, who believed that they meant what they said, and so believing supported their candidates. We have a right to demand that the promise shall be kept, and I, for one, believe that it will be. May it not prove that our faith is groundless.

There is much more that I should like to say, if time allowed, but you do not need to be convinced. The forces which fight for us are invincible. The cause of Democracy grows stronger every day that this war lasts, and imperialism is doomed. The rights of one man or group of men to plunge the world into war, the



right of one nation to impose its ideas of civilization upon another, must perish before that public opinion which, in the words of President Wilson, is "the mistress of the world," and the mighty conflict which now rages before our eyes will only supply fresh proof of the stern sentence "Those whom the Gods wish to destroy they first make mad;" or, to use the more stately words of the Bible, "Pride goeth before destruction and a haughty spirit before a fall."

## ADDRESS OF HON. MANUEL L. QUEZON

*Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen of the Anti-Imperialist League:*

You are gathered here to-day for a retrospect of the year now ending and to examine what has been accomplished during that period in the noble task to which you have set yourselves so that, in the light of your findings, you may plan your course for the future. You and I are co-workers in that task since we are both bent upon securing Philippine independence; but our points of view are, in some measure, different. You are seeking to free the United States from the Philippines while I am trying to free the Philippines from the United States. You wish to attain Philippine independence for the sake of the American people and I wish to attain it for the sake of the Filipino people. That we may co-operate intelligently it is necessary that we exchange views and agree, at least in the main, as to our plan of campaign. This, I take it, is the reason why, as on other previous similar occasions, I am invited to participate in this meeting.

Has the cause of Philippine independence progressed during the year just elapsed? Have we reason to be joyful, or should we be here to mourn? Is our work completed, or is there more to be done? If so, then, what; and how should it be done? These are the questions that I propose to lay before you, briefly as I must.

If I should judge what has been done regarding the Philippine question by the Democratic Party in the light of my expectations and of those of my people, as well as from the standpoint of our views as to what should have been accomplished, I think we should feel sorely disappointed and altogether disheartened; but looking upon that question from a broader angle, my conclusion is that we have every reason to be happy and hopeful.

Every one knows that the Filipino people have been demanding immediate independence, and that, due to the public utterances

of some prominent leaders of the Democratic Party, many of us were led to believe that when that party came into power it would immediately grant independence to the Philippines. In the Sixty-Second Congress, for the first time in many years, the Democratic Party gained control of the lower House of the Congress, and the Chairman of the House Committee on Insular Affairs, the Hon. William Atkinson Jones of Virginia, proceeded at once to introduce a bill, which was favorably acted upon by his committee. This bill provided for the immediate qualified independence of the Philippines and for absolute independence at the end of eight years from the date of the establishment of such a qualified independent government. Although this bill did not grant immediate absolute independence, it did so for all practical purposes, and consequently it was unanimously approved by the Filipino people. While this bill was never considered by the House of Representatives, yet, inasmuch as it received every Democratic vote in the Committee of Insular Affairs and was publicly indorsed by many Democratic Representatives and Senators, as well as by other prominent leaders of the party outside of the Congress, I believed — and this belief was shared by my people — that this bill represented, in the main, the plan whereby the Democratic Party would deal with the Philippine problem when it assumed full control of this government. The national elections of 1912 resulted in a Democratic administration, and Congress and the Filipino people celebrated this event with genuine enthusiasm, believing that they were almost celebrating the establishment of an independent Philippine government.

On March 4, 1913, a Democratic President was inaugurated. He proceeded at once to call a special session of the Congress for the purpose of writing into the statute books the legislation that the platform of the Party had promised. The Filipino people expected that in this legislative programme Philippine independence would be included. But the special session, long as it was, came to an end with the Philippine question untouched. This caused us keen disappointment. Then the first regular session of the Democratic Congress convened, and only after a long delay (another disappointment) a bill dealing with the Philippines, drafted and introduced by the same member, the Chairman of the Committee on Insular Affairs, Mr. Jones of

Virginia, who wrote and introduced the Philippine bill in the Democratic House of the Sixty-Second Congress, was at last launched. But, lo! this time the bill was less definite than before in its plan for returning the Islands to the hands of their people, while it was correspondingly less liberal in its governmental concessions.

When the events of the past year are thus viewed, the apparent conclusion that one must derive therefrom is that the Democratic Party has changed its attitude toward the Philippine question, in that its avowed purpose to grant independence to the Philippines has greatly slackened. Naturally, this was the first impression that the present Philippine bill produced upon the Filipino people. Indeed, when the news of this seeming change of policy reached the Philippines, the disappointment of the Filipino people came near a climax, and suggestions of resistance to the whole policy, coupled with denunciation and charges of bad faith on the part of the Administration and of the Congress, were at once made.

But there is another aspect of the conduct of the Democratic Party toward the Philippines, and when viewed in that aspect a distinctly optimistic conclusion is to be reached. I, for one, as well as the majority of the Filipino people, after mature deliberation, believe that this is the more sensible and fair view of the whole situation. "By their fruits ye shall know them."

Whatever may have been said by individual Democrats as to what they or their party would do regarding the Philippines, no matter how high in the counsels of their party such individuals may be, and whatever may have been proposed by the Committee on Insular Affairs when first it came into the hands of a Democratic majority, as a proper solution of the Philippine question, the platform declarations still stand as the most, if not the only, authoritative expression of Democratic policy regarding the Philippines. The question, therefore, in justly judging the present Philippine bill as a fulfilment of the party's pledge, is not whether it accords with what some Democratic leaders have heretofore said or promised, or whether it is the same bill that was originally introduced in the Democratic House of the Sixty-Second Congress, but whether it is in accord with the party's platform. Since the Democratic platform simply commits the party to the declaration that it is this nation's purpose



to grant Philippine independence as soon as a stable government can be established in the Islands, and since the preamble of this bill makes such a declaration, can we fairly accuse the Democratic party of having changed its Philippine policy?

To be sure, the platform also commits the party to the plan of neutralization as a means for guaranteeing Philippine independence, and it may be suggested that not only have there been no evident efforts to take steps for the neutralization of the Philippines, but that the efforts of Congressman Burgess of Texas to amend the bill so as to include a provision for neutralization have failed in the House. Such circumstances have indeed been advanced as indicting the Democratic party for bad faith in its Philippine policy. Aside from the technical question of order, which was raised against the amendment of Mr. Burgess, and through which the amendment was defeated, the issue was well met by Mr. Garrett of Tennessee when he said that, without action on the part of the Congress, the President could proceed at his own pleasure to negotiate treaties neutralizing the Philippines. Any student of the Constitution of the United States knows that the power to initiate treaties is vested in the President of the United States, and that therefore he can, as Mr. Garrett said, if he will, begin negotiations for the neutralization of the Philippines without previous action on the part of the Congress. Platform declarations must be read and interpreted in their relation to governmental machinery. Consequently, while that part of the platform which deals with the declaration of purpose is meant for the Congress, the real question of neutralization devolves upon the President as initiator and the Senate as the source of advice and ultimate consent. The refusal of the House of Representatives to take any action of this subject does not necessarily indict either that body or the party. Whether the President of the United States has taken any step toward the fulfilment of this pledge or not is a question that, due to the secrecy which surrounds every diplomatic negotiation in its early stages, cannot now be answered. We should therefore be acting too hastily were we to pass judgment on this subject. Moreover, the language of the platform does not require that a treaty of neutralization be negotiated prior, and as a condition precedent, to Philippine independence. Quite the contrary, it distinctly states that "the independence of the

Philippines shall be guaranteed by the United States until the neutralization of the Islands can be secured by treaty with other powers." This, it would seem, means that independence may be granted before the neutralization has been secured. Therefore, as far as the Democratic party has gone in its proposed legislation for the Philippines, it is fulfilling its platform pledge.

During the debate on the bill, however, its opponents told us that it is a radical departure from Democratic policies, and that even what little there is in the bill that is allied to those policies is not meant in good faith, but only for purposes of political display. When it is considered that the Philippine bill is the first Democratic measure that has gone through the House without a single dissenting vote on the Democratic side, when it is remembered that this measure was not directly demanded by the President of the United States, and that there was no direct pressure for it from the White House, it is apparent that the Democratic action on this bill was genuine and spontaneous. Can any fair person assume that every Democrat in the House of Representatives has changed his views on the Philippine question, and that he voted for the Philippine bill from partisan motives only? Is any one prepared to indict every Democratic member of being so cowardly that, if he had not changed his views, and did not care to be a party to so bare-faced a political game, he yet had not the moral courage to sound his protest? How about those few Republicans and Progressives who voted for the bill? Were they, too, anxious to help the Democratic party in such a partisan scheme? The overwhelming majority with which the bill passed the House must mean something more than treachery, hypocrisy, or falsehood. There are a few members of the House of Representatives well known to the Anti-Imperialist League because of the unflinching attitude they have maintained during past years against imperialism and in favor of Philippine independence. To cite no other names, can any Anti-Imperialist forget that whenever the League needed a man to voice its sentiments or to present its views upon the floor of the House of Representatives it always found a ready friend and able advocate in the distinguished gentleman from Texas, Mr. Slayden? Is Mr. Slayden to be indicted for betraying

the pledges of his party because instead of opposing he supported this bill?

Let us now examine the record of the Democratic party, as made by the policies of the administration, both directly and indirectly affecting the Islands.

An imperialist policy, no matter how well concealed, and no matter how loud its protestations of other motives, shows itself at every turn. The present administration has been in office for nearly two years, and it came into power under circumstances so propitious to imperialism that the easiest course for it to take would have been to follow that policy had it had the inclination to do so. China, awakening to Occidental civilization, was in need of money. The previous administration had encouraged American bankers to take part in the loan to China, thus sowing the first seed of future governmental interference on the part of this country in that vast, tempting, and thickly populated region of the Far East. No sooner had President Wilson grasped the reins of government, however, than he disavowed the so-called "Dollar Diplomacy," which is nothing more or less than imperialism. Mexico was in revolution; the jingo papers and jingo orators of this country were exerting their influence to bring about American intervention under the pretence of protecting American interests and rights. What an opportunity for an imperialistic administration to go to Mexico, wage war against the Mexicans in the name of humanity and civilization, seize the government of the country in the name of order and good government, and stay there, with the excuse that it was preparing the Mexicans for self-government, perhaps allowing things to drift indefinitely! Instead, the President stayed out of Mexico as long as he could; and when he thought he must intervene he went only to Vera Cruz. He has now left even that place, without taking from Mexico a piece of territory or a dollar.

Remember, ladies and gentlemen, I dare not pass judgment upon your international policies. That is something on which, as a foreigner, I should not care to speak. I am expressing neither approval nor disapproval of President Wilson's Mexican policy. I am merely stating facts when I say that, whether wise or unwise, nevertheless, that policy supports my theory that the present administration is democratic in truth as well as in name —

it has no dreams of empire, no desire for colonial enterprise, no purpose of subjugating other people. Of course, it is but natural for me to feel great relief at seeing that policy pursued, because it implies a promise of Philippine independence. I could cite other instances of the course of this administration in dealing with foreign countries that show how far President Wilson is from leaning toward colonization, but those I have referred to are enough.

Let me now call your attention to what has been done directly affecting the Philippines. The promise to grant Philippine independence would be meaningless to me if it were not accompanied by deeds. Words are good only when followed by action. Independence had been promised us by ex-President Taft in more or less the same language that President Wilson used in his message both to the Filipino people and to the Congress of the United States, and more or less in the same words that are now used in the preamble to the Philippine bill, save only that ex-President Taft, after speaking of independence as the rational outcome of his Philippine policy, usually qualified such statements by saying that such a relation as exists between Canada and England might be substituted for actual Philippine independence should it be the pleasure and the convenience both of the United States and the Philippines to agree to such a change. But there is one difference between ex-President Taft's Philippine independence policy and that of President Wilson which tells more than this difference in phraseology. While both ex-President Taft and President Wilson speak of ultimate independence and gradual delivery of the government of the Philippine Islands to the Filipino people as fast as it may be accomplished in harmony with the interests of the Filipino people themselves, in the execution of that policy they part. Mr. Taft would have continued to maintain for a much longer time the American majority in the Commission; he would have kept in their places all the American employees in the Philippines until those employees either died or resigned, unless removed for cause. The mere fact that there was a Filipino ready to take the place of an American would not have been enough reason for the displacement of one official by the other, although the announced policy apparently commanded such a course; at any rate, it would have been quite improbable that as long as



the American employee wanted to keep his place, Mr. Taft could have been convinced that the substitution of a Filipino for such an official would have been in harmony with the best interests of the community. Again, there are certain places in the government of the Philippines that Mr. Taft would have retained for Americans as long as he could find men in this country ready and capable to fill them. I do not accuse Mr. Taft either of insincerity or of deliberately deceiving the Filipinos when he thus acted, yet at the same time promised that he would Filipinize the service as rapidly as possible. In fact Mr. Taft has been very frank,—at times perhaps too frank,—so much so that he has unwittingly offended the Filipino people, who could not fail to resent the assertion that they are not yet capable of assuming certain responsible positions and are far from being capable of self-government. Mr. Taft never hesitated to say that in his opinion it would take several generations to prepare the Filipino people to become a truly enlightened community conscious of the responsibilities of a self-governing nation, and that during that time its members would need the guidance of American brains and power. Therefore he was consistent with himself when he made his Filipinization policy so slow, and at times let it come almost to a standstill. On the other hand, President Wilson began his Philippine policy by turning over to the Filipino people at the outset the control of the Philippine Legislature, and this he did even before he read to Congress his message outlining his Philippine policy. Governor-General Harrison, in accord with the policy of the President, has been appointing Filipinos to responsible positions; he has been breaking down the barriers set up by his predecessors between the Christian and non-Christian inhabitants of the Islands; in one word,—here fulfilment goes hand in hand with promises. Everything that is being done by this administration tends to show that it believes in the present capacity of the Filipino people for self-government, that the so-called Filipinization of the service will be pushed through, and that to those now in charge independence is a matter of the not very distant future.

The administrative provisions of the Philippine bill afford another proof of this disposition. Had the Democratic party intended to play politics only; had it, as charged, no real desire to redeem its pledge to grant Philippine independence; its obvious

plan would have been to do as little as possible within the mandates of its platform. Since the platform simply says "We favor an immediate declaration of the nation's purpose to grant Philippine independence as soon as a stable government can be established," and does not say a word as to when and how such independence shall be granted, or provide that immediate steps be taken to place the Philippine Government in the hands of the Filipino people, the Democratic party could doubtless have complied with the letter of the platform by merely passing a joint resolution declaring that it is the purpose of the United States to grant Philippine independence as soon as a stable government can be established in the Islands, allowing the conditions which prevailed during the past régime to continue as heretofore. Of course, the Filipino people in such a case would have lost faith in the party, for we are not so easily to be deceived; but, after all, what does it matter to the Democratic party, or, in fact, to any party in the United States, what the Filipinos may think or feel, seeing that they are not part of the American electorate? Sadly enough, but truly, must it be said that there has been very little pressure on the part of the public opinion of this country regarding the Philippine plank of the Democratic platform; so that if the Democratic party were not sincere in its independence policy, and were passing Philippine legislation merely to furnish a pretence that it is complying with its pre-election promises, it would act differently.

It is evident, therefore, that only the extremely suspicious can see perfidy instead of fair play in the past year of Democratic régime. So I say, no matter how sadly the Democratic party may fail to satisfy my expectations and view as to what should have been done and what should now be done regarding the Philippine Islands, I am forced to admit that, as far as it has gone, the administration of President Wilson, the administration of Governor Harrison, and the House of Representatives have done well by the Filipino people, and I rejoice in this fact.

Will the Senate of the United States do equally well? That remains to be seen. The Philippine bill is now in the Senate Committee on the Philippines awaiting action, and I hope it will soon receive the attention of that committee and be favorably reported to the Senate and passed by that body. Should the Senate of the United States fail to do its part in the carrying

out of the policies and pledges of the Democratic party,— then I shall mourn; my disappointment, the disappointment of the Filipino people, will know no limits. We shall then have every right to say that the Democratic party is faithless; nay, we should then have the right to say that the American Government is faithless; for to us the duty of the Congress to declare that it is the purpose of this nation to grant independence is not a partisan question — it is an American question. We have been promised, both by past Republican Presidents and by the present Democratic President, by Governor-Generals of all political views, and by many others, that independence shall be granted. If now Congress should fail to ratify those promises, must we not lose our confidence in this nation? I believe the Senate, which, in the language of Senator Lodge, is “the guardian of the nation’s honor,” will concur with the House of Representatives in placing above suspicion the motives of this country regarding the Philippines. We should, however, bear in mind that victory is for him who is vigilant, and that, therefore, our immediate efforts should be to do everything in our power to have the Senate act immediately on the pending Philippine bill.

Now let us suppose the Philippine bill with its preamble to be passed by the Congress. Shall we consider our task at end? Evidently not. We aim at the absolute independence of the Philippine Islands, and nothing short of that will satisfy us. The present Philippine bill is not the last word to be said on the Philippine question. The bill is merely the first frank and decisive step toward independence. It recognizes the right — the God-given right — of the Filipino people to enjoy a national existence of their own, independent of any foreign intervention; and it affords the means whereby the Filipino people can promote their own progress toward their desires, and thus give conclusive evidence of their capacity to establish a stable government. That the Filipino people will prove equal to their task we may take as a foregone conclusion. In our endeavor to bring about actual independence, therefore, we need not worry as to whether or not we shall be successful in proving that the Filipinos are absolutely capable of self-government.

With regard to the means of guaranteeing Philippine independence, let me express myself unmistakably. There seem to be people who believe that we want, if granted independence,

the protection of the United States. Such a belief is very wide of the mark. A protected state is never independent in reality even if it be so in name, and we are concerned with the substance of freedom and not the name. The protecting power must, of course, demand certain rights and privileges from its protégée that, while both natural and just, would in effect curtail the national freedom of the protégée. If we are to have independence, I desire that it be absolute. If we are to be independent, we should assume full responsibility therefor. The neutralization of the Philippines as a means of guaranteeing our independence has been offered by our friends and I have been favorable to it; but I want it clearly understood that under no circumstances would I subscribe to the proposition that Philippine independence should be withheld until the neutralization of the Islands had been obtained. If the Philippines can be neutralized, well and good! But the Filipino people should not make their decision as to the future of their country dependent upon any consideration save that of their right to be free and their willingness to sacrifice themselves for their freedom.

I may be too optimistic, but I am one of those who believe that the European war will result in reducing the danger of the Philippine Islands and of other small countries from foreign aggression. I think that this war — which is the hardest blow that mankind has ever received since the days when the first man set his feet upon this earth — proves that imperialism is the wickedest doctrine that human intellect can frame; for, in my opinion, imperialism, and imperialism alone, is responsible for this staggering slaughter of men. It is not German militarism, Russian and Servian pan-slavism, France's desire for revenge, or Albion's perfidy that has brought death and ruin to mankind, but English, Austrian, French, German, and Russian imperialism. So I believe that with this convincing lesson the doctrine of nationalism will be recognized, and so invigorated.

Again, after the war is over the great powers of Europe will be so exhausted that it will be impossible for them, even if they would, to undertake another war; their people will be so impoverished, so misery-stricken, that they will demand to be let alone, and to be allowed to devote such energy as they still possess to the reconstruction of their agriculture, their industries, and their commerce.



Ladies and gentlemen, I dream of the day when every people shall live side by side with other peoples, managing its own affairs, developing its own virtues, and all devoted to the betterment of mankind. I dream of the day when the East and the West shall be linked together by ties of universal brotherhood rather than by sheer force.

# ELECTION OF OFFICERS

Messrs. A. M. Howe, H. A. Carson, and the Rev. W. R. Lord, having been appointed as a committee to distribute and collect ballots for officers during the ensuing year, reported that the following persons were chosen:

## President

Moorfield Storey

## Treasurer

David Greene Haskins, Jr.

## Secretary

Erving Winslow

## Executive Committee

James H. Bowditch  
Frederick Brooks  
Edward H. Clement  
Charles Fleischer  
Albert S. Parsons  
Albion A. Perry  
John Ritchie  
Frank B. Sanborn  
Fiske Warren

## Vice-Presidents

### ALABAMA

Pres. George H. Denny, Tuscaloosa  
Prof. Edgar B. Kay, Tuscaloosa  
Prof. H. A. Sayre, Tuscaloosa  
Hon. Oscar W. Underwood, Birmingham

### ALASKA

Martin Harraiss, Esq., Chena  
John Ronan, Esq., Fairbanks

### ARIZONA

Frank P. Trott, Esq., Phoenix

### ARKANSAS

Hon. W. M. Kavanaugh, Little Rock

### CALIFORNIA

J. H. Barry, Esq., San Francisco  
Mrs. Maria Freeman Gray, San Francisco  
Chancellor David Starr Jordan, Leland Stanford University  
C. F. Lummis, Esq., Los Angeles  
Hon. Warren Olney, Oakland  
William H. Rogers, Esq., San José  
Very Rev. Geo. M. Searle, San Francisco

### COLORADO

Hon. John A. Martin, Pueblo  
Hon. T. M. Patterson, Denver  
Hon. John F. Shafroth, Denver  
Hon. C. S. Thomas, Denver

## CONNECTICUT

Prof. Geo. T. Ladd, New Haven  
Hon. Charles F. Thayer, Norwich

## DELAWARE

William Canby Ferris, Esq., Wilmington  
Hon. Richard R. Kenney, Dover

## DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Dr. W. A. Croffut, Washington  
Hon. Josephus Daniels, Washington  
Samuel Gompers, Esq., Washington  
Gen. Nelson A. Miles, Washington  
Hon. Louis F. Post, Washington  
Mrs. Alice Thacher Post, Washington  
Hon. Jackson H. Ralston, Washington

## FLORIDA

Hon. Thomas M. Shackelford, Tallahassee

## GEORGIA

Hon. James H. Blount, Macon  
Hon. W. H. Fleming, Augusta  
Gen. James Gadsden Holmes, Macon  
Hon. Peter W. Meldrim, Savannah  
Hon. Hoke Smith, Atlanta

## IDAHO

Hon. Simon P. Donnelly, Lakeview

## ILLINOIS

Miss Jane Addams, Chicago  
Hon. Edward Osgood Brown, Chicago  
Waldo R. Browne, Esq., Chicago  
R. T. Crane, Jr., Esq., Chicago  
Prof. Starr Willard Cutting, Chicago  
Prof. William E. Dodd, Chicago  
Frederick W. Gookin, Esq., Chicago  
Prof. William Gardner Hale, Chicago  
Prof. Ira W. Howerth, Chicago  
Rev. Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Chicago  
Rev. Alonzo K. Parker, Chicago  
Dr. William Morton Payne, Chicago  
Prof. Frederick Starr, Chicago  
Charles M. Sturges, Esq., Chicago  
Prof. A. H. Tolman, Chicago  
Sigmund Zeisler, Esq., Chicago

## INDIANA

Hon. Cyrus Cline, Angola  
Hon. H. U. Johnson, Richmond

## IOWA

Hon. Horace Boies, Waterloo  
Hon. Cato Sells, Vinton  
Hon. Henry Vollmer, Davenport

## KANSAS

Hugh P. Farrelly, Esq., Chanute

## KENTUCKY

James G. Howard, Esq., Lock  
Stephen D. Parrish, Esq., Richmond

## LOUISIANA

Prof. W. B. Gregory, New Orleans  
Pres. E. L. Stephens, Lafayette

## MAINE

Pres. George C. Chase, Lewiston  
Dr. Seth C. Gordon, Portland  
Hon. Luther F. McKinney, Bridgton

## MARYLAND

Hon. John V. LeMoyne, Baltimore  
Hon. George L. Wellington, Cumberland

## MASSACHUSETTS

Magnus W. Alexander, Esq., Lynn  
Mrs. Charles Gordon Ames, Boston  
Rev. A. A. Berle, Cambridge  
Col. C. R. Codman, Brookline  
Rev. J. H. Crooker, Dorchester  
Rev. C. F. Dole, Boston  
Prof. Garrett Drovers, Williamstown  
Thomas B. Fitzpatrick, Esq., Boston  
Francis J. Garrison, Esq., Lexington  
Rev. Edward M. Gushee, Cambridge  
Pres. G. Stanley Hall, Worcester  
Hon. J. M. Head, Boston  
Hon. Roger Sherman Hoar, Concord  
Prof. Lewis J. Johnson, Cambridge  
Hon. George W. Kelley, Rockland  
Henry W. Lamb, Esq., Brookline  
Hon. Samuel W. McCall, Winchester  
Edwin D. Mead, Esq., Boston  
Mrs. Lucia Ames Mead, Boston  
Hon. R. M. Morse, Boston  
James P. Munroe, Esq., Boston  
Miss Emily L. Osgood, Lincoln  
Hon. Herbert C. Parsons, Greenfield  
Hon. Josiah Quincy, Boston  
Dr. Francis H. Rowley, Boston  
Rev. W. H. van Allen, Boston  
Hon. Winslow Warren, Dedham

## MICHIGAN

Charles S. Hampton, Esq., Detroit  
Charles Humphrey, Esq., Adrian  
Rev. Jabez T. Sunderland, Detroit  
Rt. Rev. Charles D. Williams, Detroit

## MINNESOTA

Frederick G. Corser, Esq., Minneapolis  
Hon. John Lind, Minneapolis  
S. A. Stockwell, Esq., Minneapolis

## MISSISSIPPI

Hon. John S. Williams, Yazoo City

## MISSOURI

John P. Herrmann, Esq., St. Louis

William Marion Reedy, Esq., St. Louis

## MONTANA

Massena Bullard, Esq., Helena

Andrew Dunsire, Esq., Kalispell

Edward Scharnikow, Esq., Deer Lodge

## NEBRASKA

A. J. Sawyer, Esq., Lincoln

Rt. Rev. Arthur S. Williams, Omaha

## NEVADA

Dr. J. J. Sullivan, Virginia City

## NEW HAMPSHIRE

Hon. Henry F. Hollis, Concord

## NEW JERSEY

Ralph W. E. Donges, Esq., Camden

Hon. Eugene F. Kinkead, Jersey City

## NEW YORK

Everett V. Abbot, Esq., New York

Rev. Richard W. Boynton, Buffalo

Andrew Carnegie, Esq., New York

R. Fulton Cutting, Esq., New York

Charles Stewart Davison, Esq., New York

Prof. John Dewey, New York

Austen G. Fox, Esq., New York

Henry W. Hardon, Esq., New York

Henry Hentz, Esq., New York

William Dean Howells, Esq., New York

Prof. Jacques Loeb, New York

Hon. Thomas Mott Osborne, Auburn

Rev. C. H. Parkhurst, New York

Mrs. Fanny Garrison Villard, Dobbs Ferry

Oswald Garrison Villard, Esq., New York

## NORTH CAROLINA

Pres. L. L. Hobbs, Guilford

## NORTH DAKOTA

A. C. Reinecke, Esq., Fargo

## OHIO

John H. Clarke, Esq., Cleveland

Hon. John J. Lentz, Columbus

Hon. Rufus B. Smith, Cincinnati

Edward Stang, Esq., Cincinnati

Hon. Brand Whitlock, Toledo

Charles B. Wilby, Esq., Cincinnati

## OKLAHOMA

Dr. D. H. Patton, Woodward

## OREGON

James Hennessy Murphy, Esq., Portland

H. B. Nicholas, Esq., Portland

Col. C. E. S. Wood, Portland

## PENNSYLVANIA

Samuel Bowles, Jr., Esq., Philadelphia

Dr. W. Horace Hoskins, Philadelphia

Francis Fisher Kane, Esq., Philadelphia

Mickle C. Paul, Esq., Philadelphia

Frank Stephens, Esq., Philadelphia

Dr. Robert Ellis Thompson, Philadelphia

Herbert Welsh, Esq., Philadelphia

## RHODE ISLAND

Hon. Lucius F. C. Garvin, Lonsdale

Edwin C. Pierce, Esq., Providence

## SOUTH CAROLINA

Wilie Jones, Esq., Columbia

Hon. James Simons, Charleston

## SOUTH DAKOTA

Hon. Levi McGee, Rapid City

Joseph B. Moore, Esq., Lead

Hon. Richard F. Pettigrew, Sioux Falls

## TENNESSEE

Hon. John Wesley Gaines, Nashville

## TEXAS

Frederick Opp, Esq., Llano

Hon. James L. Slayden, San Antonio

## UTAH

P. J. Daly, Esq., Salt Lake City

## VERMONT

Major F. W. Childs, Brattleboro

Rev. Charles H. Pennoyer, Springfield

## VIRGINIA

Dr. Paul B. Barringer, Charlottesville

Prof. James Hardy Dillard, Charlottesville

## WASHINGTON

C. G. Heifner, Esq., Seattle

## WEST VIRGINIA

Hon. A. S. Johnston, Union

Hon. John E. Stealey, Clarksburg

## WISCONSIN

William George Bruce, Esq., Milwaukee

## WYOMING

Hon. John C. Hamm, Cheyenne



The following resolution was offered by the Hon. Albion A. Perry and unanimously adopted:

*Resolved*, That the Anti-Imperialist League earnestly urges the immediate passage by the Senate of the bill reforming the Government of the Philippine Islands which passed the House at the last session, as an important step toward the fulfilment of the promise repeatedly made by the Democratic Party to give the Philippine Islands their independence.

The meeting was then dissolved.



325.313  
An8r.  
v.17

You are earnestly asked to hand this, after reading, to some other person who will also give it careful consideration.

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS LIBRARY

APR - 8 1916

# REPORT

OF THE

## Seventeenth Annual Meeting

(*ADJOURNED*)

OF THE

## Anti-Imperialist League

FEBRUARY 28, 1916

---

PUBLISHED BY

THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST LEAGUE  
BOSTON

**The Everett Press, Inc.**  
**Boston**



# REPORT

THE Seventeenth (adjourned) Annual Meeting of the Anti-Imperialist League was called to order by President Moorfield Storey, at the rooms of the Twentieth Century Club, Boston, February 28, 1916.

## REPORT OF THE SECRETARY

*Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen:*

The closing sentence in your Secretary's Annual Report last year was this: "It is from the American point of view that we shall unceasingly demand the entire withdrawal of our sovereignty over the (Philippine) Islands."

That this is the true point of view as expressed in the charter of the Anti-Imperialist League was constantly urged by our first president, George S. Boutwell, and was the theme of all our earlier champions. The needs and rights of the Filipinos, and their claims for independence, were only incidental arguments to enforce contentions based upon our belief that our assumed trusteeship was an untenable position and that the United States violated its principles and its traditions by every moment of its occupancy of the Philippine Islands.

Lowell gave us our motto:

"O, my friends, thank your God, if you have one, that He  
'Twixt the Old World and you set the gulf of a sea.

Be strong-handed, brown-backed, upright as your pines;  
By the scale of a hemisphere shape your designs."

Circumstances have kindled into a blaze the fires which we may fairly claim to have kept smouldering these eighteen years, — the demand first and foremost not for Filipino independence but for United States independence. Here are words such as are familiar to our memory, but are spoken to-day in an unexpected quarter:

“While preparedness and its corollaries are so much to the fore, are we to discuss them without even passing reference to the Senate vote for independence on February 4 and the approaching vote in the House?

“As to the doctrine of America for Americans, has there ever been a time when it seemed more essential than it does to-day? And if a declaration of Philippine independence, with reasonable safeguards to the interests of ourselves and the Filipinos, will appreciably lessen the great cost of preparedness and vitalize the celebrated doctrine, surely it is ourselves who should welcome the opportunity.

“Permanent, or even indefinite, occupation of those islands does more than infringe it. It transforms it from a shield to a sword. For by such occupation we shall bestride this narrow world like a Colossus, we alone planting a foot in either hemisphere, and forbidding every other power to do likewise! Can such a Cæsarian attitude in a peace-professing republic be matched by even the most militant of monarchies?”

The motives which inspire these words are those which have led to the wonderful advance which our cause has made since we met here December 7, 1914. We had then to take comfort in such progress towards the alienation of the Philippine Islands as was contained in H. R. bill 18459, which it was prognosticated would be passed by the Senate, but failed of introduction there. The same bill was presented, as No. 1, to the House at the present session by its author, Mr. Jones, and referred to its Insular Committee, and a similar one was reported to the Senate by its Philippine Committee. But in course of the discussion the bill was taken away from the committee and an amendment added, proposed by Senator Clarke, of Arkansas, which was ably engineered by Senator Shafroth, of Colorado, so that on its final passage the enactment was highly satisfactory, and went down to the Insular Committee of the House.

The gain needs only a glance at the two bills. In the bill first proposed the whole recognition of the duty of alienation or independence for the islands was in the preamble — nothing more.

“Whereas, it was never the intention of the people of the United States in the incipency of the War with Spain to make it a war of conquest or for territorial aggrandizement; and

“Whereas, it is, as it has always been, the purpose of the people of the United States to withdraw their sovereignty over

the Philippine Islands, and to recognize their independence as soon as a stable government can be established therein; and

“Whereas, for the speedy accomplishment of such purpose it is desirable to place in the hands of the people of the Philippines as large a control of their domestic affairs as can be given them without, in the meantime, impairing the exercise of the rights of sovereignty by the people of the United States, in order that, by the use and exercise of popular franchise and governmental powers, they may be the better prepared to fully assume the responsibilities and enjoy all the privileges of complete independence.”

The obsession of the masses of the people of the Philippine Islands with the idea of immediate independence had been intensified by the widely published provisions of Mr. Jones's first bill, fixing for it the date of 1921, which had been assumed to be acceptable to the President when submitted to him before election.

However wise it may have been diplomatically to accept with good grace the Hobson's choice of the second Jones Bill which was postulated as a step towards independence because independence was mentioned in its preamble as an intended grant by the United States, on conditions of future fitness and congressional initiation; even this bill passed by the House at the last session was not acted upon by the Senate.

Then came the campaign in the Philippine Islands to disseminate a submissive view of the situation among the people and to induce a patient abandonment of the agitation of the ideals of immediate independence and a reliance on the hope that this bill — though then dead — might be made a joint act of both Houses of Congress at the present session.

Those who urged this change in the popular attitude, which had quite a remarkable effect, due to their own eloquently stated views of the desirability thereof, were themselves probably not sorry to recognize that an undercurrent still flowed very strongly towards the wished-for harbor of a definite promise of an early fulfilment of the old hopes. Our League thought it well last December, for a full knowledge of the conditions, to make public, as it had not otherwise been given out, an address from the Philippine Assembly itself, which could not be interpreted as an entire acquiescence in the situation. This address closed with these striking words:

“As we hereby reiterate our urgent petitions for liberty and independence for the people of the Philippines, we, the elected representatives of the Filipino people, express our confidence that the efforts of the President of the United States to secure the fulfilment of his promises and the realization of our lawful hopes, will obtain early and complete success.”

Moreover, about the same time a cable dispatch was sent to American newspapers by prominent representatives of Filipino opinion protesting against the Jones Bill as a finality and urging strongly a fixed date for independence.

There will be no occasion for any stimulated rejoicing over the new bill which has passed the Senate enacting that:

“The President is hereby authorized and directed to withdraw and surrender all right of possession, supervision, jurisdiction, control, or sovereignty now existing and exercised by the United States in and over the territory and people of the Philippines, and he shall on behalf of the United States fully recognize the independence of the said Philippines as a separate and self-governing nation, and acknowledge the authority and control over the same of the government instituted by the people thereof, and full power to take the several steps necessary to institute such government is hereby conferred upon the said Philippines acting by and through governmental agencies created by this Act. This transfer of possession, sovereignty, and governmental control shall be completed and become absolute not less than two years nor more than four years from the date of the approval of this Act, under the terms and in the manner hereinafter prescribed; Provided, That if the President, prior to the expiration of the said period of four years, shall find that the condition of the internal or external affairs of said Philippines in respect to the stability or efficiency of the proposed government thereof is such as to warrant him in so doing, he is hereby further authorized, by proclamation duly made and published, to extend the said time to and including the date of the final adjournment of the session of Congress which shall convene next after the date of the expiration of the said period of four years, and thus afford the Congress an opportunity in its discretion to further consider the situation in the said Philippines; but any such extension of time by the President shall not otherwise suspend or nullify the operative force of this Act, unless the Congress shall hereafter so direct. For the purpose of a



complete and prompt compliance with this direction, the President is hereby invested with full power and authority to make such orders and regulations and to enter into such negotiations with the authorities of said Philippines or others as may be necessary to finally settle and adjust all property rights and other relations as between the United States and the said Philippines, and to cause to be acknowledged, respected, and safeguarded all of the personal and property rights of citizens or corporations of the United States and of other countries resident or engaged in business in said Philippines or having property interests therein. In any settlement or adjustment so made in respect to the rights and property of the United States as against the said Philippines the President may reserve or acquire such lands and rights and privileges appurtenant thereto as may, in his judgment, be required by the United States for naval bases and coaling stations within the territory of said Philippines."

Is it to be wondered at that, with constant hope and every possible exertion of influence that it may be fulfilled, we wait the one necessary act to avoid jeopardizing these great concessions,— the passing of this bill seriatim by the House of Representatives, making a concurrent act which could hardly fail of Presidential approval?

Resolutions for neutralization of the Philippine Islands by separate enactments, not to cumber the progress of the bill, are pending in both Houses. We consider such legislation highly desirable to place on record the judgment of Congress as to the sanctity of the doctrine as well as for the interests of the Filipino people.

Official acts of the Committee during the year follow.

The following letter was addressed to the President of the Philippine Assembly and made public in the newspapers of the islands:

BOSTON, March 12, 1915.

SEÑOR SERGIUS OSMENA.

*Sir:*

Since the Congress of the United States has adjourned without passing any measure dealing with the Philippine independence, it seems proper that the Anti-Imperialist League, by its Executive Committee, should express to you, as an official representative of the Filipino people, the profound regret which

the members of the League feel at the failure of the Congress to enact the oft-promised and long-delayed legislation in favor of Philippine independence. Our own regret is deepened by our knowledge of the sorrow which the liberty-loving and liberty-deserving citizens of your country must feel as they find their aspirations for self-government once again thwarted and repressed.

We not only extend to you our heartfelt sympathy in this hour of disappointment and temporary defeat, but we are also impelled to send you a message of hope and good cheer.

It is a charitable and perhaps not wholly unfair assumption that the failure of the Congress to take final action upon the Philippine Bill, while a direct violation of the pledges made by the dominant political party in the United States, was largely due to lack of time. During its long session, the members of the Congress were called upon to meet and decide some of the gravest and most important questions ever presented to the Legislative Department of our Government, and naturally, though perhaps unjustly, they allowed matters of domestic interest to take precedence of legislation relating to the inhabitants of far-off Pacific Isles. We look forward with hope to more favorable conditions in the near future, relying upon the support of President Wilson and his associates, which has been openly given.

The glamour of imperialism, which has for a time blinded the eyes of so many Americans, is being dispelled. We now see on the bloody fields of Europe the inevitable results of national selfishness and aggression. We also recognize the danger, in the event of a war between us and a foreign power, of being obliged to defend remote colonial possessions inhabited by an alien and discontented people.

Still further, we would remind you that there has been no retraction of the declarations in favor of Philippine independence so often made by men who have held the high office of President of the United States, by Secretaries of State, by other eminent American statesmen, by Governors-General of the Philippines, and by our national Democratic Party in its campaign platforms.

During the present European war it is also deserving of note that the admitted violation of solemn treaties of neutralization has met with universal reprobation, and in future such treaties

are likely to prove a much greater safeguard to the sovereignty of weaker nations than they have been in the past. This will rob of whatever force they may once have possessed the strongest arguments that have been made against the neutralization of the Philippines.

But of more promise and potency than all else is the unquenchable thirst for liberty in the hearts of the Filipino people. Through long and weary years they have held fast to their faith in the ultimate triumph of their cause,— the establishment in their beautiful island home of a government which should be absolutely free from foreign domination or interference. For this they have made most heroic efforts and sacrifices. Their poets have sung of it; their orators have pleaded for it; their holy men and devout women have prayed for it; their brave sons have died for it. Such heroism and devotion in a just cause cannot suffer permanent defeat. The hour of victory is sure to come. We believe that the American people, cradled in liberty and wedded to the principles of self-government, will not long withhold from their brothers in the Pacific Islands what they demand for themselves and cherish as a human birthright.

We of the Anti-Imperialist League, who at the start were opposed to the acquisition of the Philippines by our government, and have never ceased to plead for the political freedom of the Filipinos, now entreat your people to continue in the dignified and peaceful course which they have pursued hitherto, giving no expression to resentment that might lead to violent or intemperate action on the part of any class or faction. We ask them to subordinate all minor differences to the one supreme object,— PHILIPPINE INDEPENDENCE; to plead their cause unceasingly in the press and on the platform; if possible, to continue to send cultured and representative men of their own race to the United States who shall present to the American people their just claims for self-government; and in every orderly and pacific way to show the world, what we of the League have always maintained, that they are fully qualified to take their place in the sisterhood of nations as a free and sovereign people.

MOORFIELD STOREY, *President*,  
ERVING WINSLOW, *Secretary*.

This address was made public in the United States and the Philippine Islands:

BOSTON, April 30, 1915.

The Anti-Imperialist League thinks it proper to reiterate the principles which it was established to maintain in view of the acute conditions caused by disregarding these principles.

The challenge of militant imperialism through aggressive war, and especially the attack upon neutralized states, deserves and must receive the denunciation of the League, and its moral support must be given to the forces which resist this challenge and attack.

The hope that permanent peace in the world may be achieved through the war depends upon withdrawing increasing areas from the menace of violence, and preserving the autonomy of smaller nations by re-establishing their neutralization upon unshakeable foundations.

That this will inevitably be accomplished is the message which we wish to convey to our friends in the Philippine Islands in the hope that they will proceed with tranquil assurance in their progress toward promised independence, which will thus be deserved in the fulness of time.

MOORFIELD STOREY, *President*,  
ERVING WINSLOW, *Secretary*.

An address was made thus to the President and Congress:

BOSTON, October 22, 1915.

The Anti-Imperialist League maintains with faith and courage its special work of obtaining, by the establishment of Philippine independence, relief from the anomalous and dangerous responsibility of holding and defending remote "possessions." But the situation calls for the application to affairs in the Western Hemisphere of the doctrines which the League upholds, and demands a protest against a drift which menaces the peace and safety of the Republic. No spheres of influence, protectorates, or trusteeships should be undertaken here by the United States acting alone, promoting, as they must, jealousy, distrust, and disorder.

For the maintenance of honorable international relations the Anti-Imperialist League looks with fervent hope to the development of the Pan-American Union, which under one or another name has had for a quarter of a century the unquestioned support of our leading statesmen, and which should secure joint



action by the great nations of America on all questions of international importance arising in the Western Hemisphere. This co-operation with other American nations has been resorted to during the past year in dealing with the lamentable difficulties of Mexico, and the League earnestly urges the adoption of a similar course in the critical situations which exist in other American countries, as San Domingo, Nicaragua, Haiti, and Panama.

The League urges the early adoption of some proper treaty with Columbia to settle the bitter controversy which has embarrassed so long her relations with the United States. In the interest of justice and amity the League urges careful scrutiny of any treaty like that between the United States and Honduras which has for several years been under consideration. The League urges a prompt granting of citizenship to the unfortunate inhabitants of Porto Rico, as repeatedly recommended by all parties in successive official reports.

That the withdrawal of the United States forces from the Philippine Islands entails the duty of negotiating their neutralization is the policy adhered to by the League, this neutralization to be negotiated in advance by combination with other nations interested,—a policy analogous to that recommended for dealing with American questions as above mentioned,—which solution of the Philippine problem may be expected to receive world-wide approbation, like the withdrawal heretofore of the United States from Cuba.

MOORFIELD STOREY, *President*,  
ERVING WINSLOW, *Secretary*.

This memorandum was sent to the committees of the United States Senate and House of Representatives having charge of Philippine affairs:

BOSTON, November 19, 1915.

The development of opinion has been such concerning the weakness and danger of foreign possessions in the possibilities of war that it seems very possible that a stronger and more definite expression in regard to Philippine independence might now receive support (from quarters in which that portion of the Democratic Party interested in the cause may need and desire support as to any Philippine bill whatever), and it is the earnest request

of the Executive Committee of the League that an effort may be made to have a bill introduced and enacted which shall meet more fully its own views and those of the element in the Philippine Islands that has shown discontent at the limited expression which it was thought necessary to make in the last bill.

---

To our list of Vice-Presidents the Executive Committee has added Mrs. Mary Fels, widow of the late Joseph Fels, and her name appears on the ballot to-day.

---

We have lost during the year one of our oldest members and officers, Dr. William A. Croffut, of Washington, journalist and author, who organized our Washington Branch, and was untiring in his devotion to the work of the League from the beginning, making great personal sacrifices in its service during its unpopular days, to his own actual loss and that of opportunity in his profession. He is indeed one of the heroes of our Valhalla.

Among the ranks of our members we miss to-day friends whose attendance at our meetings has been constant and whose support has been unstintedly generous; among them were:

Mrs. Richard Henry Dana, Archibald Murray Howe, the Rev. William R. Lord.

---

The circulation of documents to applicants, for use in debates throughout the country in schools, lyceums, and colleges, has been very large as the agitation for legislation concerning the Philippines has renewed interest in the subject.

The newer publications of the League have been:  
Report of the Sixteenth Annual Meeting.

Annual Address of President Storey, December 7, 1914.

Address by Hon. Manuel L. Quezon, December 7, 1914.

"Independence for the Philippines, a Plea," by Senator Shafroth,  
*New York Evening Post*, December 4, 1915.

"Are the Filipinos Capable of Self-Government?" Hon. John F. Shafroth, *National Monthly*, January, 1916.

ERVING WINSLOW, *Secretary*.

# REPORT OF THE TREASURER

THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST LEAGUE, IN ACCOUNT WITH DAVID G. HASKINS, JR., *Treasurer.*

<i>Dr.</i>		
To amounts expended from December 5, 1914, to December 31, 1915.		
For Postage, Express, Messengers . . . . .	\$445.31	
" Stationery, Telephone, Telegraph . . . . .	254.94	\$68.53
" Typewriting . . . . .	564.00	
" Office Rent . . . . .	325.00	
" Printing . . . . .	134.30	
" Meetings . . . . .	43.05	1,747.10
" Sundries . . . . .	3.20	56.40
Balance on hand December 31, 1915 . . . . .	102.23	
	<hr/>	
	\$1,872.03	\$1,872.03

February 28, 1916.

E. and O. E.

DAVID G. HASKINS, JR.  
*Treasurer.*

# AUDITOR'S CERTIFICATE

I hereby certify that I have audited the accounts of David G. Haskins, Jr., Treasurer of the Anti-Imperialist League, for the year beginning December 5, 1914, and ending December 31, 1915, and that I have found them to be correctly cast and properly vouched, and that he has a cash balance of \$102.23 deposited in the New England Trust Company of Boston.

GEO. H. CATE, Auditor.

WE, Anti-Imperialists, meet to-day in a very remarkable situation. The cause so dear to us all, for which we have unsuccessfully striven so long, sometimes almost hoping against hope, has all at once taken a remarkable start. With dramatic suddenness wholly unexpected by any of us the change has come. The colorless Jones Bill, the mere shadow of its former self, its vital features eliminated lest it should altogether fail, has in the twinkling of an eye been radically amended, and has actually passed the Senate, with a provision for complete independence in four years, unless the Filipinos show themselves, in the current language of the time, unfit for self-government. By a sort of poetic justice the casting vote of the Vice-President has offset the wrong done to the people of these islands seventeen years ago, by his predecessor, in the exercise of the same privilege, by defeating the Bacon Resolution. Never since the ratification of the ill-omened Spanish Treaty has the cause seemed so near a triumphant success; and, while it would certainly have been more gratifying to us if the change had come from the conscience rather than from the fears of the nation, and we should rather owe success to Thomas Jefferson than to the Kaiser, still, whatever the motive, if the bill is finally passed, I think we may all accept it with sincere rejoicing and no questions asked.

So far the situation is unexpectedly favorable, and the treasurer sincerely congratulates the members of the League on this great gain. But the future is full of uncertainty and apprehension. Even though this tardy act of justice to the long-suffering Filipinos be successfully consummated, the snake is but scotched, not killed. The imperialistic spirit still prevails in less aggressive form. The dealings of the country with Honduras, Nicaragua, Santo Domingo, are disquieting, and the provision of the lately ratified treaty with Nicaragua, providing for the payment by the United States of \$3,000,000 to that country, to be deposited in banks selected by us and expended as the governments of the two nations may deem best, suggests a dangerous paternalism, to say the least.

And there is a new peril, portentous and deadly, though as yet only half realized, which confronts our people to-day and threatens us with possible new outbursts of the same old spirit of imperialism. It comes, not from Kaiser or Mikado, from foreign armies or hostile battleships, but from our own people. I mean the very real danger of militarism. *Speaking merely for*



*himself, and not officially for the League*, your treasurer sees very grave peril in the present violent attack of hysteria which is sweeping the eastern part of the country, and which, promoted partly by ambitious politicians and interested manufacturers of war munitions, and partly by well meaning but panic stricken individuals, is threatening, under the euphemistic title of preparedness, to start our democratic republic on the downward path which leads to the bottomless pit of militarism. Professing to hate war, and to advocate great military and naval forces, in order to prevent the need of using them, and to defend our territory, our independence, and the democracy which no one but ourselves can threaten, these gentlemen, including many eminent and learned men, whose sincerity, if not their sanity, must be conceded, are doing all in their power, by public meetings, by new organizations, by violent speeches in season and out of season, by lurid articles in the newspapers and the cheap magazines, by a woman's auxiliary, and by invoking the aid of the "movies," to push the country into the first dangerous steps that lead toward militarism. For whatever they may now propose and believe, who ever knew a great country with great armaments that did not use them? Even Germany claims that her army is for self-defense, and that she is to-day fighting for her existence. And a military system and spirit once started grow with dangerous and imperceptible rapidity, whether in a republic like France or an empire like Germany. Our own United States are not immune. Militarism once established in the lives and minds of the people leads surely to imperialism at home, and then very naturally to imperialism abroad.

If any one doubts the danger, I would ask him to study a bill introduced in the United States Senate by Senator Chamberlain, Chairman of the Military Committee, "To Provide for the Military and Naval Training of the Citizen Forces of the United States." This remarkable document provides for the registration and military training, with some exceptions, of all able-bodied male citizens *from 12 to 23 years of age*, including rifle training and practice *at 14*, and camp training *at 16*. Any youth failing to register or serve, without lawful excuse, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and liable to a fine of not over \$500, or confinement for twenty days. If he fail, without lawful excuse, to attend a compulsory drill or instruction, he shall be liable to a fine of not over \$25, or confinement for not

over twenty days. And if his prosecutor shall declare that he is duly authorized by the "constituted authority," whatever that may be, neither the defendant nor *the court* shall controvert his statement. The country is to be divided into registration and training districts, each under the care of an officer of the regular army; changes of address, removals from a district and entrance into another district shall be recorded in the office of the District Commandant, and so on through forty-two sections. This is no burlesque or joke. The bill is actually pending in the United States Senate, and though not likely to pass this year, it shows the extraordinary growth of the dangerous spirit. It makes an old-fashioned Democrat rub his eyes and ask, "Where am I, in the United States or in Prussia?" And if such a bill can be seriously introduced by the Chairman of the Military Committee to-day, what may not come to-morrow or next year?

The message, therefore, that your treasurer brings you this morning, is one of hearty congratulation on the prospects of early Filipino independence, and also one of earnest warning. No true Anti-Imperialist can even dream to-day of laying off his armor. We have stern work before us for years, perhaps for our lives. We must ever, as a great duty to God and our Country, oppose at every point and in every way, and finally, with the Divine blessing, aid in the destruction of the twin demons, Militarism and Imperialism, which are threatening the life of the great republic.

DAVID G. HASKINS, JR., *Treasurer.*

## ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT

*Ladies and Gentlemen of the Anti-Imperialist League:*

Since we last met we have had moments of discouragement and hours of hope. The bill which passed the House of Representatives in the last Congress failed in the Senate owing to the pressure of other business, but it was not a very satisfactory bill. It gave the sanction of Congress to the change in the government of the Philippines which was made by executive order in the early days of Mr. Wilson's administration, and it declared the purpose of this country to grant the Philippines their independence at some time to be fixed by the United States in the indefinite future, but it was an inadequate measure by no means equivalent to the original Jones Bill. We were willing to accept it as a step in advance, but we shed no tears over its failure to pass.

During the recess of Congress, as has been the fashion since Mr. Harrison became the Governor-General of the Philippines, a series of attacks was made upon his administration, and it was charged with responsibility for evils of every sort. Had these charges been true they would not have sustained the contention of those who made them that the Philippine Islands should be retained. On the contrary they would have strengthened our position that the islands should be given their independence, since they would have shown that we are misgoverning the islands, and that we can no more assure the Filipinos good government than we can assure it to the people of Boston, Philadelphia, or San Francisco, to say nothing of the country as a whole, which according to the opposition is always misgoverned by the party in power. If we believe the Progressives, the regular Republicans are corrupt and worthless, and there is only one American fit to be trusted with power, a view in which that American cordially concurs. If we believe the Republicans, the Democrats are foolish or wicked. Why should we expect to give the Filipinos something better than we can get for ourselves?

Secretary Garrison's correspondence with Ex-President Taft, and his refutation of the loose assertions which Mr. Taft had allowed himself to make, was most gratifying to all who believe in fair discussion, and it showed how false and groundless were the malicious attacks on Governor-General Harrison which had become the commonplaces of Republican politicians. When to this was added General McIntyre's report approving the present administration of the islands and making it clear how much better it satisfied the Filipino people than its predecessors, the opposition was further discredited, and its influence properly weakened.

The present Congress has grappled with the problem to much better purpose than the last, and the passage by the Senate of a bill which assures Philippine independence within a definite period has given us great hope that the object of this League will be attained in the near future. When Republicans and Democrats alike supported it, and the majority in its favor was so large, it seemed as if Congress had risen above partisan considerations and taken its stand upon the great principles which are the foundation of our government.

We are now face to face with the final battle. The interests which find a profit in exploiting the Philippines have thrown aside all disguise, and no longer pretending that we are there as trustees for humanity, to teach the Filipinos self-government and then retire, they openly insist that we must never withdraw, because the islands are too profitable to American investors.

These "yard-stick" statesmen, accustomed to such measures of value, and readily adopting them as standards of right and wrong, whose representative in Boston is the *Transcript*, find in the treaty with Spain a promise never to leave the islands, and in the dollars which can be made by Americans through trade with the islands or investments there so many arguments for holding them. The idea that the inhabitants of the islands have any rights in their own country, save such as we choose to give them, never occurs to them. Honor, good faith, sound political principle, do not weigh for a moment against money. The shibboleth "The Philippines for the Filipinos," the promise of independence in the dim future, are forgotten. These men now speak as if the islands were our property, to be used for our profit.

This argument that what is profitable is right was used to



justify slavery, and in more modern times the rape of Panama. It is the basis of the German claim that Germany could rightfully invade Belgium, bleed it white by incessant exactions, and appropriate any territory which it can conquer; that it is entitled to "a place in the sun," though it belongs to another nation. It is the old and, as we had hoped, outworn dogma that "might makes right;" and it is sad to have the same tongues which denounce German robbery justify the crime when its profits come into American pockets.

A month ago Mr. Lansing, Mr. Root, and Dr. Scott framed for the American Institute of International Law, held under the auspices of the Pan-American Congress, the declaration from which the following is quoted, and it was unanimously adopted.

"Whereas, the municipal law of the civilized nations recognizes and protects the right to life, the right to liberty, to which the Declaration of Independence of the United States adds the right to the pursuit of happiness, the right to legal equality, the right to property, and the right to the enjoyment of the aforesaid rights, creating a duty on the part of the citizens or subjects of each nation to observe them; and

"Whereas, these fundamental rights, thus universally recognized, are familiar to the peoples of all civilized countries; and

"Whereas, these fundamental rights can be stated in terms of international law and can be applied to the relations of the members of the society of nations, one with another, just as they have been applied in the relations of the citizens or subjects of the States forming the society of nations; and

"Whereas, these fundamental rights of national jurisprudence, namely, the right to life, the right to liberty, the right to the pursuit of happiness, the right to equality before the law, the right to property, and the right to the observance thereof are, stated in terms of international law, *the right of the nation to exist and to protect and to conserve its existence; the right of independence and the freedom to develop itself without interference or control from other nations*, the right of equality in law and before law; *the right to territory within defined boundaries and to exclusive jurisdiction therein*; and the right to the observance of those fundamental rights;

"Therefore, the American Institute of International Law unanimously adopts at its first session, held in the city of Washington in the United States of America, on the sixth day of Jan-

uary, 1916, in connection with and under the auspices of the Second Pan-American Scientific Congress, the following five articles, together with the commentary thereon, to be known as 'The Declaration of the Rights of Nations':

"1. Every nation has the right to exist, to protect and to conserve its existence; but this right neither implies the right nor justifies the act of the state to protect itself or to conserve its existence by the commission of unlawful acts against innocent and unoffending states.

"2. Every nation has the right to independence in the sense that it has a right to the pursuit of happiness and is free to develop itself without interference or control from other states, provided that in so doing it does not interfere with or violate the just rights of other states.

"3. Every nation is in law and before law the equal of every other state composing the society of nations, and all states have the right to claim, and, according to the Declaration of Independence of the United States, to assume, among the Powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them.

"4. Every nation has the right to territory within defined boundaries, and to exercise exclusive jurisdiction over this territory, and all persons, whether native or foreign, found therein.

"5. Every nation entitled to a right by the law of nations is entitled to have that right respected and protected by all other nations, for right and duty are correlative, and the right of one is the duty of all to observe."

No Republican ventured to question these principles, approved as they are by the great Republican statesman, Elihu Root, whose praises are now on every Republican lip. Are these declarations mere words, or do we mean what our representatives say? Are such solemn declarations to be brushed aside as

"A tale of little meaning tho' the words are strong,"

whenever it pays any of our citizens to ignore them? We are getting dangerously near the "scrap of paper" doctrine, and surely no American with a conscience should be willing to adopt this or sell his country's honor for money.

It is well that our opponents have come out into the open. It is well that they find in great newspapers room for articles

urging the retention of the islands for commercial reasons. It is well that the cant about our benevolent purpose, our trust for the Filipinos, and the other disguises which have done duty so long have been abandoned. The people of this country are now face to face with the real issue. Are we never to grant the Filipinos their independence? The arguments against the present bill will be just as strong against any future bill. The longer we wait the greater the pecuniary interests against giving up the islands. Now is the accepted time, and the bill which has passed the Senate should pass the House and receive the President's signature.

Unless this is done the Democratic Party, which since 1898 has steadily fought for Philippine independence, which in platform after platform has promised it, will have failed to keep its pledge, and will be discredited with many who have trusted and supported it in the belief that it would be true to its faith. Independence will come, but the longer this act of justice is delayed the worse for this country and for all concerned. We must uphold the hands of our friends in Congress, and our cry should be, "The bill, the bill, and nothing but the bill."

As whenever a larger navy was wanted in recent years there was talk of war with Germany or Japan, so now we find dispatches announcing that Japan wants the islands. Such statements are easily fabricated, and it costs only a cable to send them. It is singular that the Japanese ambition should be proclaimed just at this time. Like the talk of "benevolent assimilation" followed by bloody and cruel conquest, it has had its day. Our soldiers and sailors have admitted that we cannot defend the islands, and that our forces would retire in case of war, and the theory that we protect them against Japan is without foundation.

In this crisis I do not feel like talking about other countries or our errors there, though much might be said about our policy in Central America and the West Indies. Let us first free the Philippines and even more the United States from a relation which degrades both: the Philippines because it deprives them of the rights which belong to every human being, and the opportunity to develop according to their own natures and desires;—the United States because while the relation lasts our country openly repudiates the great principles which have given us our peculiar position in the world, makes us false to our professions, and from being the friends of every people struggling for free-

dom makes us ready to trample upon them whenever our oppression seems likely to be profitable. For the question "Is it right" our opponents would substitute "Will it pay," and the country which adopts this standard of action has lost its soul.

"What shall it profit it then if it gain the whole world."

## ELECTION OF OFFICERS

Mr. James H. Bowditch and Mr. Albert S. Parsons were appointed by the chair as a committee to distribute and collect ballots, and the following officers were declared by them to be chosen:

### President

Moorfield Storey

### Secretary

Erving Winslow

### Treasurer

David Greene Haskins, Jr.

### Executive Committee

Albert S. Parsons  
James H. Bowditch  
Frederick Brooks  
Edward H. Clement

Charles Fleischer  
Albion A. Perry  
John Ritchie  
Frank B. Sanborn

Fiske Warren

### Vice-Presidents

#### ALABAMA

Pres. George H. Denny, Tuscaloosa  
Prof. Edgar B. Kay, Tuscaloosa  
Prof. H. A. Sayre, Tuscaloosa  
Hon. Oscar W. Underwood, Birmingham

#### ALASKA

Martin Harrais, Esq., Chena  
John Ronan, Esq., Fairbanks

#### ARIZONA

Frank P. Trott, Esq., Phoenix

#### ARKANSAS

Hon. W. M. Kavanaugh, Little Rock

#### CALIFORNIA

J. H. Barry, Esq., San Francisco  
Rev. J. H. Crooker, Redlands

Mrs. Maria Freeman Gray, San Francisco  
Chancellor David Starr Jordan, Leland Stanford University  
C. F. Lummis, Esq., Los Angeles  
Hon. Warren Olney, Oakland  
William H. Rogers, Esq., San José

#### COLORADO

Hon. John A. Martin, Pueblo  
Hon. T. M. Patterson, Denver  
Hon. John F. Shafroth, Denver  
Hon. C. S. Thomas, Denver

#### CONNECTICUT

Prof. Geo. T. Ladd, New Haven  
Hon. Charles F. Thayer, Norwich



## DELAWARE

William Canby Ferris, Esq., Wilmington  
Hon. Richard R. Kenney, Dover

## DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Hon. Josephus Daniels, Washington  
Samuel Gompers, Esq., Washington  
Gen. Nelson A. Miles, Washington  
Hon. Louis F. Post, Washington  
Mrs. Alice Thacher Post, Washington  
Hon. Jackson H. Ralston, Washington  
Very Rev. Geo. M. Searle, Washington

## FLORIDA

Hon. Thomas M. Shackleford, Tallahassee

## GEORGIA

Hon. James H. Blount, Macon  
Hon. W. H. Fleming, Augusta  
Gen. James Gadsden Holmes, Macon  
Hon. Peter W. Meldrim, Savannah  
Hon. Hoke Smith, Atlanta

## IDAHO

Hon. Simon P. Donnelly, Lakeview

## ILLINOIS

Miss Jane Addams, Chicago  
Hon. Edward Osgood Brown, Chicago  
Waldo R. Browne, Esq., Chicago  
R. T. Crane, Jr., Esq., Chicago  
Prof. Starr Willard Cutting, Chicago  
Prof. William E. Dodd, Chicago  
Frederick W. Gookin, Esq., Chicago  
Prof. William Gardner Hale, Chicago  
Prof. Ira W. Howerth, Chicago  
Rev. Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Chicago  
Rev. Alonzo K. Parker, Chicago  
Dr. William Morton Payne, Chicago  
Prof. Frederick Starr, Chicago  
Charles M. Sturges, Esq., Chicago  
Prof. A. H. Tolman, Chicago  
Sigmund Zeisler, Esq., Chicago

## INDIANA

Hon. Cyrus Cline, Angola  
Hon. H. U. Johnson, Richmond

## IOWA

Hon. Horace Boies, Waterloo  
Hon. Cato Sells, Vinton  
Hon. Henry Vollmer, Davenport

## KANSAS

Hugh P. Farrelly, Esq., Chanute

## KENTUCKY

James G. Howard, Esq., Lock  
Stephen D. Parrish, Esq., Richmond

## LOUISIANA

Prof. W. B. Gregory, New Orleans  
Pres. E. L. Stephens, Lafayette

## MAINE

Pres. George C. Chase, Lewiston  
Dr. Seth C. Gordon, Portland  
Hon. Luther F. McKinney, Bridgton

## MARYLAND

Hon. John V. LeMoynes, Baltimore  
Hon. George L. Wellington, Cumberland

## MASSACHUSETTS

Magnus W. Alexander, Esq., Lynn  
Mrs. Charles Gordon Ames, Boston  
Rev. A. A. Berle, Cambridge  
Col. C. R. Codman, Brookline  
Rev. C. F. Dole, Boston  
Prof. Garrett Drovers, Williamstown  
Thomas B. Fitzpatrick, Esq., Boston  
Francis J. Garrison, Esq., Lexington  
Rev. Edward M. Gushee, Cambridge  
President G. Stanley Hall, Worcester  
Hon. J. M. Head, Boston  
Hon. Roger Sherman Hoar, Concord  
Prof. Lewis J. Johnson, Cambridge  
Hon. George W. Kelley, Rockland  
Henry W. Lamb, Esq., Brookline  
Hon. Samuel W. McCall, Winchester  
Edwin D. Mead, Esq., Boston  
Mrs. Lucia Ames Mead, Boston  
James P. Munroe, Esq., Boston  
Miss Emily L. Osgood, Lincoln  
Hon. Herbert C. Parsons, Greenfield  
Hon. Josiah Quincy, Boston  
Dr. Francis H. Rowley, Boston  
Rev. W. H. van Allen, Boston  
Hon. Winslow Warren, Dedham

## MICHIGAN

Charles S. Hampton, Esq., Detroit  
Charles Humphrey, Esq., Adrian  
Rev. Jabez T. Sunderland, Detroit  
Rt. Rev. Charles D. Williams, Detroit

## MINNESOTA

Frederick G. Corser, Esq., Minneapolis  
Hon. John Lind, Minneapolis  
S. A. Stockwell, Esq., Minneapolis

## MISSISSIPPI

Hon. John S. Williams, Yazoo City

## MISSOURI

John P. Herrmann, Esq., St. Louis  
William Marion Reedy, Esq., St. Louis

## MONTANA

Massena Bullard, Esq., Helena  
Andrew Dunsire, Esq., Kalispell  
Edward Scharnikow, Esq., Deer Lodge

## NEBRASKA

A. J. Sawyer, Esq., Lincoln  
Rt. Rev. Arthur S. Williams, Omaha

## NEVADA

Dr. J. J. Sullivan, Virginia City

## NEW HAMPSHIRE

Hon. Henry F. Hollis, Concord

## NEW JERSEY

Ralph W. E. Donges, Esq., Camden  
Hon. Eugene F. Kinkead, Jersey City

## NEW YORK

Everett V. Abbot, Esq., New York  
Rev. Richard W. Boynton, Buffalo  
Andrew Carnegie, Esq., New York  
R. Fulton Cutting, Esq., New York  
Charles Stewart Davison, Esq., New York  
Prof. John Dewey, New York  
Austen G. Fox, Esq., New York  
Henry W. Hardon, Esq., New York  
Henry Hentz, Esq., New York  
William Dean Howells, Esq., New York  
Prof. Jacques Loeb, New York  
Hon. Thomas Mott Osborne, Auburn  
Rev. C. H. Parkhurst, New York  
Mrs. Fanny Garrison Villard, Dobbs Ferry  
Oswald Garrison Villard, New York

## NORTH CAROLINA

Pres. L. L. Hobbs, Guilford

## NORTH DAKOTA

A. C. Reinecke, Esq., Fargo

## OHIO

John H. Clarke, Esq., Cleveland  
Hon. John J. Lentz, Columbus  
Hon. Rufus B. Smith, Cincinnati  
Edward Stang, Esq., Cincinnati  
Hon. Brand Whitlock, Toledo  
Charles B. Wilby, Esq., Cincinnati

## OKLAHOMA

Dr. D. H. Patton, Woodward

## OREGON

James Hennessy Murphy, Esq., Portland  
H. B. Nicholas, Esq., Portland  
Col. C. E. S. Wood, Portland

## PENNSYLVANIA

Samuel Bowles, Jr., Esq., Philadelphia  
Mrs. Mary Fels, Philadelphia  
Dr. W. Horace Hoskins, Philadelphia  
Francis Fisher Kane, Esq., Philadelphia  
Mickle C. Paul, Esq., Philadelphia  
Frank Stephens, Esq., Philadelphia  
Dr. Robert Ellis Thompson, Philadelphia  
Herbert Welsh, Esq., Philadelphia

## RHODE ISLAND

Hon. Lucius F. C. Garvin, Lonsdale  
Edwin C. Pierce, Esq., Providence

## SOUTH CAROLINA

Willie Jones, Esq., Columbia  
Hon. James Simons, Charleston

## SOUTH DAKOTA

Hon. Levi McGee, Rapid City  
Joseph B. Moore, Esq., Lead  
Hon. Richard F. Pettigrew, Sioux Falls

## TENNESSEE

Hon. John Wesley Gaines, Nashville

## TEXAS

Frederick Opp, Esq., Llano  
Hon. James L. Slayden, San Antonio

## UTAH

P. J. Daly, Esq., Salt Lake City

## VERMONT

Major F. W. Childs, Brattleboro  
Rev. Charles H. Pennoyer, Springfield

## VIRGINIA

Dr. Paul B. Barringer, Charlottesville  
Prof. James Hardy Dillard, Charlottesville

## WASHINGTON

C. G. Heifner, Esq., Seattle

## WEST VIRGINIA

Hon. A. S. Johnston, Union  
Hon. John E. Stealey, Clarksburg

## WISCONSIN

William George Bruce, Esq., Milwaukee

## WYOMING

Hon. John C. Hamm, Cheyenne

## LETTERS

The following letters were read:

From the HON. JOHN F. SHAFROTH:

"To the Anti-Imperialist League will be due an incalculable influence in the passage of the bill. It has been your constant work for sixteen years that has kept so many people in line for independence, and the incessant work of your organization has kept it ever alive before the people. Its greatest benefit has been the preservation of the spirit of our government as voiced in the Declaration of Independence.

"I recognize that your organization has produced this result more than the influence of any other body of men. The constant and persistent declarations and addresses of your Presidents and members have kept this a live issue, and have at last, it seems, produced excellent results. While it is always gratifying to give to a people liberty and independence, it becomes doubly satisfactory when by the same act we preserve the fundamental principles of our own government. The Declaration of Independence may not be in law of the same force as the constitution, but it is unquestionably the spirit of our government, and we cannot deviate from its principles without sapping the very foundation of our institutions."

From GOVERNOR McCALL:

"I am sure I should be glad indeed to be at your meeting, but I am so tied up with engagements that I cannot undertake to come. There seems every prospect of the passing of a bill in Washington which is likely to settle the Philippine question in the way in which you have from the start contended it should be settled."

From COL. HOMER B. SPRAGUE:

"Congratulations on your still holding fast to the 'faith once delivered' to Boutwell and other Saints."

From HON. W. A. JONES, highly appreciative of our invitation, but regretting that he could not be with us, as he is necessarily engaged in Washington and his health is not good.

From R. L. O'BRIEN, Editor of *Boston Herald*, expressing sympathy and regrets for not being able to be present.

Similar words from the REV. C. F. DOLE and from F. B. SANBORN and others.

A remarkable letter was read again, which was received from Grover Cleveland:

"PRINCETON, January 12, 1903.

ERVING WINSLOW, Esq.

*Dear Sir:*

I am still an Anti-Imperialist.

The Anti-Imperialists should formulate in plain, distinct terms just what in the present condition they claim the government should do with and for the Philippine people.

When a large number of the voters of the land feel this question it will be dealt with as a party issue in something more than a perfunctory way."

A letter received after the meeting should find a place here, since it is written by a grandson of a great hero of a great cause, who found that "the secret of success is constancy," a nephew of one of our own most brilliant and faithful advocates, and himself, in his day and generation, a devoted promoter of social service.

"BOSTON, March 18, 1916.

"I write you a word of congratulation on the extraordinary results achieved by the Anti-Imperialist League, as evidenced by the new national attitude in relation to the Philippines. I assume that the belief that it is inexpedient, from a military standpoint, to retain these islands, is perhaps the immediate cause for the national attitude. At the same time, it is evident to me that your League has so prepared and moulded public sentiment that it makes it far easier and more logical for the United States to relinquish absolute control of these far-away



islands than if the voices here in Boston had been silent. It is another astonishing evidence of the power of a tiny minority, girt about with truth, to make its purpose dominant, even in the face of nation-wide contempt and ridicule. It emphasizes again the literal truth of Wendell Phillips's dictum, 'One on God's side is a majority.'

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, JR."

## REMARKS OF MR. MAXIMO M. KALAW

*Ladies and Gentlemen:*

We are witnessing to-day the most decisive victory for anti-imperialist ideas that has occurred since the American occupation of the Philippines. We have won what a year ago seemed almost impossible of attainment,—a definite promise made by the more conservative branch of the American Congress that within four years the Philippines shall be given their complete and absolute independence. Anti-Imperialists and Filipinos have for more than a decade worked in unison for the accomplishment of such a separation: the Filipinos believing that political independence is the birth-right of every liberty-loving people; the Anti-Imperialists contending that perpetual union with a subject people would in the end mean death to American republican institutions.

For the Filipinos to aspire to an independent existence is natural. But for a portion of the American people to demand the hauling down of a flag planted in a territory at the cost of American treasure and American blood is a striking and unusual occurrence. In the course of your campaign you have incurred the enmity and even hatred of many of your own countrymen. Long personal attachments have been broken and friendships severed because of your devotion to the cause of anti-imperialism. You were called traitors when you dared raise a voice of sympathy for the struggling Filipinos during the war with America. But there is one thing of which you have never been accused, and that is subserviency to personal interest. You have fought for the preservation of American political principles without any hope of material gain for yourselves. Your primary object was to check the tide of imperialism which started with the Spanish-American War, and which you believed to be a menace to the very life of American institutions. Imperialism manifested itself in the seizure and retention of the Philippines by America, and therefore you endeavored to free

America from that danger. It is true that your League has not been established purely out of love for the Philippines. But the Filipinos, too, believed that their country should be freed from American control, so what is more natural than that there should be an alliance, as it were, between these two groups of men who are fighting the same battle? But while resistance to imperialism was your prime object, your espousal of the cause of a weaker people struggling for freedom has bred in you a sincere interest in their welfare and a righteous indignation at their forceful subjection by the American government. I cannot but recall here that venerable figure of your late Senator Hoar, perhaps the foremost leader of your movement, who was certainly inspired by the deepest sympathy for the struggles and privations of the Filipino people and by the most earnest solicitude for their liberty and happiness. During his declining years, as he reviewed the long and fruitful record of his political life, he looked back upon his efforts to arouse the conscience of his people and induce them to recognize the rights of the Filipinos to self-government and independence as the proudest, noblest, and most sublime of his public endeavors. "I would rather have," he said in his "Autobiography of Seventy Years," "the gratitude of the people of the Philippine Islands amid their sorrow, and have it true that what I may say or do has brought a ray of hope into the gloomy caverns in which the oppressed people of Asia dwell, than to receive a ducal coronet from every monarch of Europe, or command the applause of listening senates and read my history in a nation's eyes."

American public opinion could not have tolerated for a moment the action of the Senate had not the Anti-Imperialists, together with the Filipino people, been insisting upon complete justice for the Filipino people. Other considerations may have influenced the action of that body, but it is safe to say that it would not have passed any legislation had such legislation not met with the support of the Filipino people. Senator Clarke, in urging the passage of his amendment now pending, emphasized to the Senate the fact that both the Philippine Assembly and Resident Commissioner Quezon had endorsed his amendment. As you are well aware, in spite of such support, the Clarke amendment was passed only by the deciding vote of the Vice-President. It would seem that the fate of 8,000,000 people would always remain in the hands of a few, or even of a single

man. Seventeen years ago, at about the same day of the month, Senator Bacon's resolution providing for the recognition of Philippine independence was defeated only by the deciding vote of the then Vice-President Hobart. If, therefore, for no reason other than that of the closeness of the struggle and the continuance of opposition to Philippine freedom, Anti-Imperialists and Filipinos must continue, with greater strength and determination than ever, their campaign for the emancipation of the Philippines.

The Filipino people are to-day more alive than ever before as to the necessity of their immediate assumption of the complete powers of government. For years many of them had been led to believe that under American rule they were perfectly safe from foreign aggression. To them the American flag had signified perfect security from the dangers of any foreign conquest. Fresh from the fields of battle, their soldiers returned to peaceful pursuits, reconstructed industries ruined by the war, and established representative institutions. Their children flocked to schools. Faithfully the people copied the ideals of America,—a nation dedicated purely to peace, with flourishing industries, public schools, legislative assemblies and councils, but with a relatively insignificant army and navy. But to-day America has risen to a realization of the dangers she is running. Unarmed as she is, in the midst of international conflicts, she feels that she has not even the forces necessary to protect her continental territory. Nay, it has been the common practice of writers to assert that Boston or New York, with their noble sky-lines, could easily be wiped out by any first-class power, and that before America could strike a serious blow her most flourishing industries might fall into the hands of an enemy. It has come to be a foregone conclusion that the Philippines cannot and should not be defended, and that in case of a war it will be foolhardiness to attempt to check the landing of an invading army in the islands. If it be really true that the American government feels unable or unwilling to perform the primary duty of all government,—the protection of life and property from foreign aggression,—upon what possible grounds can the continuance of American sovereignty in the islands be defended? If American rule is to continue there for an indefinite time, or even for a specified number of years, then, in justice to the people of the Philippines, their property and their interest must be protected



against foreign aggression. They have as much right to be protected against the intrusion of any foreign foe as the people of Boston or New York or San Francisco. If their lives and property cannot and will not be so defended let the fact be known to them and give them freedom to take the steps they may consider necessary for their protection. Such a state of affairs necessitates the most speedy enactment into law of the pending Philippine legislation, by which the people of the islands shall be warned that they must begin to prepare all the different elements of their national life for the defense of their country and for the responsibilities that they must in a short time assume as members of the family of nations. The sooner this is done the better, and for the accomplishment of this end Anti-Imperialists and Filipinos must continue unalterably united in their devotion to the cause of Philippine independence.

## RESOLUTION

The following resolution was proposed by Mr. Albert S. Parsons and unanimously adopted:

*Resolved*, That the Anti-Imperialist League hails with profound satisfaction the passage of the Philippine Bill by the Senate of the United States, and urges the House of Representatives to concur promptly in passing this wise and patriotic measure.

After some informal discussion the meeting was dissolved.

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS LIBRARY

APR 1916

325.373

An 8r

V. 18

You are earnestly asked to hand this, after reading, to some other person who will also give it careful consideration.

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS LIBRARY

FEB 19 1916

# REPORT

OF THE

## Eighteenth Annual Meeting

(*ADJOURNED*)

OF THE

## Anti-Imperialist League

DECEMBER 18, 1916

---

PUBLISHED BY

THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST LEAGUE

BOSTON

# REPORT

The Eighteenth (adjourned) Annual Meeting of the Anti-Imperialist League was called to order by President Moorfield Storey, at the rooms of the Twentieth Century Club, Boston, December 18, 1916, at two o'clock.

---

## REPORT OF THE SECRETARY

Mr. President and Fellow Members:

Whatever other considerations may have influenced our choice for presidential electors, the result of the campaign is gratifying to us as Anti-Imperialists in this respect. Permanent retention of the Philippine Islands was presented to the voters as a principle of the party which was defeated. Although the Republican platform contained an acknowledgment that our work, which must have meant preparation for Philippine independence, was to be completed before long since the plank said it was only half done, Senator Harding, the presiding officer at the Republican National Convention, pronounced the party's doctrine to be one of permanent sovereignty over the Philippine Islands, and this declaration was approved in the most definite manner by its presidential candidate.

Consultation of the seventeen Annual Reports of the Anti-Imperialist League shows a remarkable variety of phases in our work for the alienation of the Philippine Islands. Discouragement and confidence, hopes and fears, protests and congratulations are expressed therein. They give voice to the apparent desires of the Filipinos and to public opinion in the United States as it respected those desires or was indifferent to them, considering our "safety-first" and the traditions and obligations of the Republic. We have had often to praise, often to blame, congressional and executive action or inaction. But we have never lost courage or diminished energy to carry on our work in the faith of the Founders,—to fight the battle out on that line as long as our organic life shall last.

Today we are told that we have arrived at a breathing place—not only by some of our own friends in America as well as by the enemy of course who are always ready to welcome a truce and its indefinite extension—but by some party leaders in



An 8 r  
v. 18

FEB 19 1923

the Philippines who would have it that the great gain by the passage of the Philippine bill justifies a let-up in political agitation. Is it so?

It must be confessed that it is hard for people of our fibre to understand the ease with which the Filipinos have met the alternate concessions and withdrawals of the last three years and to attribute it to patience and self-restraint while an enduring thirst for independence continued. Eloquence like that of Patrick Henry, Adams, and Franklin has indeed demanded and seemed to justify the demand for immediate independence. But in the event we are puzzled by the flexibility of those in behalf of whom this eloquence had been uttered.

The original draft by Mr. Jones of a bill for independence to be given in 1921 was understood to have received Mr. Wilson's sanction when submitted to him before he assumed office in 1913, and its conditions were hailed with tremendous enthusiasm in the Philippine Islands. We feared and deplored some intemperate expression there because of the long delay in Congressional action and in the change of the Executive. But there proved to be no occasion for our solicitude. When after all the Jones bill, H. R. 18,459, was presented and passed October 14, 1914, we again apprehended some explosion. No promise of independence in 1921 remained, the bill established an excellent and liberal colonial government and the preamble was the only expression of our ideal permitted by the powers "higher up," as follows:

"Whereas it was never the intention of the people of the United States in the incipency of the War with Spain to make it a war of conquest or for territorial aggrandizement; and

"Whereas, it is, as it always has been, the purpose of the people of the United States to withdraw their sovereignty over the Philippine Islands and to recognize their independence as soon as a stable government can be established therein; and

"Whereas, for the speedy accomplishment of such purpose it is desirable to place in the hands of the people of the Philippines as large a control of their domestic affairs as can be given them without, in the meantime, impairing the exercise of the rights of sovereignty by the people of the United States, in order that, by the use and exercise of popular franchise and governmental powers, they may be the better prepared to fully assume the responsibilities and enjoy all the privileges of complete independence:"

Lo and behold! fires were kindled again on every hill in the

Philippines in celebration of the passage of this bill as a great triumph. However it never reached the Senate for action, having been buried in the Philippine Committee there October 8 (calendar day, October 15), and was thus killed in the 63rd Congress. Again eloquence in the United States; patience and self-control in the Philippine Islands!

The first bill introduced in the House by the indefatigable Philippine champion, Mr. Jones, at the 64th Congress, H. R. 1, was a replica of his bill H. R. 18,459 in the 63rd Congress. It was referred to the Insular Committee and there remained, while in the Senate, the Chairman of the Philippine Committee, Senator Hitchcock, introduced a bill similar to it, but with a different and weaker preamble: "Whereas, it is desirable to place in the hands of the people of the Philippines such an increasing control of their domestic affairs as can be given them without, in the meantime, impairing the sovereignty of the United States, in order that, by the use and exercise of popular franchise and governmental powers, they may be the better prepared to fully assume the responsibilities and enjoy all the privileges of complete independence, which it is the purpose of the United States to grant, when, in the judgment of the United States, the people of the Philippine Islands shall be fitted therefor:"

Even this poor alternative elicited little protest from press and people or the Filipino representatives.

At last came the *Deus ex machina* of the whole Philippine campaign. The late Senator James H. Clarke, of Arkansas, moved by an apparently spontaneous desire to get matters straightened out according to the Democratic platform and principles, proposed an amendment by which the sovereignty of the United States in the Philippine Islands should cease within a definite period, first stated to be not less than two and not more than four years. This amendment was passed in the Senate by the casting vote of the Vice-President and the bill containing it enacted Feb. 3 (calendar day, Feb. 4) this year. As Mr. Clarke is no longer living, it seems just to his memory in view of the result to record his words in presenting his amendment: "This occasion is one of the most momentous and important that has ever been presented to an American Congress. If this matter is not now disposed of in some definite form, and some policy laid down that is to be followed up and consummated into final action you will probably never again hear this question discussed—at least not for many years, I

think. The psychological time has arrived. The question may again come under discussion here, and probably will. Some of these days it may be necessary to amplify the boundaries of this Union and the Senate may find itself engaged in a proposition to admit the island of Luzon as one of the States of the American Union. That was predicted 20 years ago by a man now prominent in the service of another branch of this Congress in a speech that has not been excelled by anybody since that time. Again, the matter may come under discussion here when we come to ratify a treaty of peace whereby we cede to some victorious enemy these distant and useless islands. Those are all possibilities of the case.

"I thoroughly approve of a proposition that will in a respectful way make known to those Asiatic nations the fact that our people cannot maintain our civilization here and their's also, and that it is better for all of us to have an understanding on that subject, and let us get out of their territory and ask them to let us run our own. That is a bargain that seems fair on its face. You can maintain that, but you cannot maintain the other; and those who now undertake to maintain by their votes American control over the Philippine Islands have no right to appeal to American citizens to pledge every life and every dollar we have to maintain a policy of forcible exclusion from our borders of those Asiatic races. We have just simply got to have a policy that is consistent with itself. It is not a question of discriminating against races on account of their supposed inability to understand our standards. They have standards of their own with which they are just as well satisfied as we are with our standards."

When the news of the Clarke amendment reached the Philippine Islands, indicating that independence was to be a tangible, real thing, there were of course more extensive rejoicings; and the party leaders rushed to the support of it and even made claims for having brought it about, yet there were signs that showed it was thought in some quarters a bit "too rash, too unadvised, too sudden," and there was a sort of breathlessness in getting all at once what had been crystallized, as it were, in the form of an ideal for the orator:—"property" and its caution began to show its effect among the Filipinos as it has in the United States since the Islands became a field for investments.

The tension was not very long. The House refused to accept the Senate bill, though it was made a party measure and



was endorsed by the President, thirty Democrats voting against it.

As our reports must have some historical value, it is proper that facts should be stated without fear or favor, and it is certain that the influences which wrought upon most of these recalcitrant Democrats were exerted by the most dangerous lobby that can exist near a legislative body, some of the written appeals or demands of which have come into our possession. The Democrats who betrayed the pledge of their party were Allen of Ohio, Beakes of Michigan, Coady of Maryland, Estopinal of Louisiana, Gallagher, McAndrews and McDermott of Illinois; Eagan, Hamill and Hart, of New Jersey; Gallivan, Olney, Phelan and Tague of Massachusetts; O'Shaughnessy of Rhode Island, and Bruckner, Carew, Conry, Dale, Driscoll, Dooling, Farley, Fitzgerald, Flynn, Griffin, Hulbert, Maher, Patten, Riordan and Smith of New York. Of course the basic motive of the lobby was the selfish interests of property which would avoid at all hazards any chance of the loss of a United States endorsement of its holdings.

In place of the Senate bill, the bill filed by Mr. Jones as the first of the session which had laid in abeyance awaiting the Senate's action was substituted in the House as a technical amendment, and was sent to conference May 1st, with positive instructions to the conferees that the managers on the part of the House were not to agree to any declaration or provision setting a definite time, or fixing a definite period, at or within which the Philippines should be granted independence. The conference bill was reported to the Senate and passed Aug. 16th, reported to the House and passed Aug. 18th and signed by the President.

And so we came back to the preamble and the Jones bill of Oct. 14, 1914, after all as a satisfaction of the unquenchable thirst for liberty, and establishing at the same time a place of rest, an oasis, a truce; measures calculated as was said without challenge in the Congressional debate to divert the attention of the people of the Philippine Islands from politics to business.

The bill provides for an elective Senate instead of the upper House which has consisted of an appointed Commission, but the powers of the Governor-General are much increased. The bill extends the electorate so that it will be more than doubled. Residents in the Islands have the voting privilege. There is to be a Vice-Governor appointed by the President, having



charge of the Bureaus of Health and Education, and the President also appoints an Auditor and Vice-Auditor. In general the existing enactment provides a very good scheme of colonial administration.

The general progress to harmony since the Filipinization of the high offices has been very great, even its enemies now acknowledging that no such retrogression has taken place as Cassandra voices so passionately predicted. The reluctance to accept the edict that English should be the official language in the Philippines after Jan. 1, 1906, has led to its modification after two postponements, so that now, though English is the official language, the Spanish is recognized as an official language until Jan. 1, 1920. The vernacular is still the vehicle of popular thought and feeling, while Spanish is more than ever the language of polite society. Though the schools are conducted in English, they have actually tended to the result that more people are speaking Spanish than at the time of the American conquest, since educational advance of any kind stimulates the ambition to acquire the tongue of the better class. A great step towards the progress of the Philippines to autonomy has been the solution of the Moro problem, the treatment of which even Bishop Brent, supporter of the Republican party through and through, had denounced as a disgrace to his adopted country.

Under the previous administration the Moro province was turned over to the military authorities. Strong garrisons were maintained in the country to overawe the tribesmen, but occasionally Moro forays took place on such a great scale that large bodies of troops had to be put into the field. The Moros fought with desperate resolution, and their women on the battle line with the men were almost indistinguishable in appearance. Hence with every battle there would be a shocking butchery, and there have been times when public opinion in the United States was deeply stirred by reports and pictures of the heaps of slain. Constabulary supervision has been substituted for the army management and an American civilian official is a successful Governor of the Moro province. The new policy has indeed exploded the Moro myth. The country has been kept in order, industrial tendencies are getting the upper hand, discouraging the old, predatory tastes, and there are no more of those shocking catastrophes of mutual slaughter by our troops and the tribesmen. A Moro now sits in the Philippine Legislature, visits of courtesy are exchanged between the local

“sultans” and the Manila leaders and it is probable that the gallant people once at war with their more pacific neighbors, a race which Mr. Taft predicted would be a menace to the unprotected Filipino, may furnish it with a leaven of courage and persistence. Instead of a menace to the Filipinos, these vigorous and liberty-loving folk may add a fibre which will resist the temptation to follow the counsel of such leaders as have joined hands with the foreign investor in urging the abandonment of political agitation and the devotion of all classes to needed economic development.

When Gov. Harrison the other day denounced the elements which had opposed the Philippine bill in the United States, especially in and about Congress, a Filipino speaker replied in dissent and said that the American people were the best friends the Filipinos could have, and that even the opponents of the Jones bill acted in the conviction that they were doing the best for the Islands! He did not predict complete withdrawal of the Americans as certain, but spoke of the alternative of an autonomy which left the Filipinos free, except with regard to foreign affairs—the Filipinos themselves to make the choice! He assured the Filipinos that America would not relinquish her sovereignty while foreign aggression was possible, and that “the United States will undoubtedly have to be shown that we are prepared to maintain a stable government under all the conditions that would naturally affect a country’s national existence.”

It must be recalled that Mr. Taft used to assert that if the Filipinos thus devoted themselves to the internal needs,—commerce, agriculture, mining and forestry, they might be safely promised independence after a period of time, the duration of which he set differently on different occasions,—if they should desire it then, because he felt sure that they would no longer have the aspiration! All that has been done so far may leave open the way for the fulfilment of his prophecy. Certain it is that with the investment of Philippine capital, the possession of a larger part of the desirable offices and closer commercial bonds to the United States, it would be contrary to all experience if a conservative class did not grow up in the Philippine Islands, the class that everywhere cares more for settled conditions and financial prosperity than for any national ideals. Again the careful abstention of Congress from any pledge or even suggestion of “neutralization” has left a natural apprehension of the future of an unprotected, small nation.

We urged this point very strongly upon all our friends in Congress and it is to be feared that a perverse notion of American neutrality withheld the desired assertion of the doctrine of neutralization of weaker peoples because it might imply indirectly the condemnation of acts of the foreign war, though all parties to it are joined in declaring one of its supreme objects to be the establishment of some new and unshakeable guaranty for the independence of the lesser nationalities. To promote this doctrine among the Filipinos, who without doubt have viewed its temporary violations with alarm, must be an active part of our propoaganda. Without it, however, the attachment to the United States, considering the critical questions which fester between us and the assumably land-hungry nation of the East, is rather a menace of danger than an assurance of safety. The Philippine Islands might not be so much desired for themselves but they would offer the first chance of attack on a sovereignty over them in another hemisphere with which the Japanese were at war. It was from this point of view doubtless that Col. Roosevelt within the year urged the prompt abandonment of the Philippines.

Whatever others may do or leave undone, my friends, it is for us to battle as long as our organic life shall last for the alienation of the ill gotten Eastern possessions, our "heel of Achilles," and here and now as a practical measure express our hope that Francis Burton Harrison, who took up the Governorship of the Philippine Islands with that motto, may long continue in the office which he has so wisely administered, yet without losing his belief in the cause to which our League is pledged.

When Bunyan's Pilgrim, having safely passed the lions, came at nightfall to the place where it seemed possible to rest, he was indeed laid in a chamber for the night, but the window of it opened towards the sun-rising and he was warned that he must only delay his setting forward until he was armed to encounter still greater dangers than those which he had overcome. Before him lay the entanglements of Vanity Fair where material things, houses, lands, trades and their engrossing pursuits might hinder his progress more than the wild beasts which he had conquered, and might even obscure the heavenly vision.

"Once gain the mountain top, and thou art free.

Till then, who rest, presume; who turn to look, are lost."



The acts of the Executive Committee have been as follows:

The following letter was sent to Resident Commissioner Quezon, May 5, 1916:

Dear Mr. Quezon:

At a stated meeting of the Executive Committee of the Anti-Imperialist League, held today, the Secretary was authorized and directed to convey to you its sense of the great obligation due you by the people of the United States, no less than by your own countrymen, for your patient, zealous and eloquent efforts to obtain the promised independence of the Philippine Islands and the release of the United States from the responsibility of their possession and government, assumed in defiance of the principles and the traditions of the Republic.

Encouraged by the first official expression of this national purpose to restore their sovereignty to the people of the archipelago, the League devotes itself to the effort to obtain, as soon as may be, the entire fulfilment of this purpose and earnestly hopes for that efficient inspiration which will be ensured by your continuance in your present office.

(Signed) ERVING WINSLOW,  
Secretary.

This plank was recommended by the Executive Committee June 16, 1916, for submission to the Committee on Resolutions at the Democratic Convention at St. Louis, and the following Committee was appointed to take charge of it:

Mr. John P. Herrmann, Prof. A. H. Tolman, Mr. Stephen D. Parrish, Prof. William Gardner Hale, and Mr. William Marion Reedy.

We reassert our adherence to the policy of restoring the control of the Philippine Islands to their inhabitants, which has been endorsed in every Democratic platform since the islands were taken by a Republican Administration in 1898, and we approve the act adopted by the popular branch and awaiting action in the Senate at the present session of Congress as a step towards the execution of that policy and a partial fulfilment of our promises. It is our duty now to hasten the time when the Filipinos shall realize their cherished ideals of independence which can be secured by those international guarantees for the liberty of weaker nations that will form undoubtedly part of the settlement made at the close of the war. Thus the people of the United States look forward to a relief within



a measurable period from the burden and risk of "possessions" held in violation of the principles upon which this government rests, and the retention of which asserts a right within the Eastern Hemisphere which the United States denies to other peoples in the Western.

---

The following letter was communicated to the President Aug. 4, 1916:

President Woodrow Wilson.

Sir:

May we venture to suggest the supreme importance of the passage of the Philippine bill at the present session in the form agreed upon by a joint committee of conference from both Houses of the Congress? Such action seems desired earnestly by the Vice-President, by the Speaker and by the leading Democratic members of the National Legislature with whom we are in correspondence, as well as by the party at large, according to its will expressed in its last platform, in succession to those of four preceding campaigns.

The only serious opposition indeed originates with the purely selfish and short-sighted investors and foreign owners in the Philippines, working through one of the most active and well endowed lobbies ever known in Washington. Yet, now a presidential candidate with perverse inconsistency joins openly for the first time in their advocacy of a permanent colonialism the "malefactors of great wealth" whose defeat in another sphere won him his spurs in better days; accepting their flimsy plea of a national "duty" to fulfil a self-imposed "trust."

Mr. Hughes has betrayed indeed the attitude of his own party whose platform recognized as at least "half done" this "duty,"—to improve conditions in the Philippines so that they might attain the end of "a constantly increasing participation in their government"—i. e., independence. He has also betrayed the attitude of his first lieutenant who, in view of present world conditions, had veered to the position of the great Republican leader of 1898 like Hoar, Harrison and Sherman that we had no place for "possessions" in the Eastern Hemisphere.

The defiance, which it is believed that Mr. Hughes's own party does not justify, should be squarely met by the definite promise of independence contained in the bill which has passed the House of Representatives and which will undoubt-

edly receive concurrent endorsement of both chambers at the present session, with that support from yourself which we solicit.

(Signed)

MOORFIELD STOREY, President.

ERVING WINSLOW, Secretary.

---

An address was adopted Sept. 15, 1916, to the Filipino people and communicated to the Philippine Assembly and the press in the United States and the Philippine Islands:

The Anti-Imperialist League was formed November 19, 1898, to resist the extension of this country's sovereignty over other peoples without their consent and with special reference to the then pending treaty with Spain, transferring the Philippines to the United States. The wish of your people was obviously denied since you had established a government of your own, having successfully risen against the authority of Spain throughout the islands before the capture of Manila effected by the Filipino army in co-operation with the forces of the United States. When the intention of the United States government, which had been concealed from your government and your people, became known to you, your dread of a new ruler was one of the powerful arguments used in Congress by Senators Hoar, Wellington, Mason and other Republicans and by very many Democratic members of that body, in resisting the ratification of the pending treaty with Spain. In all their efforts the league co-operated cordially.

Our prediction that you would make a forcible resistance when your allies sought to extend their sovereignty over you, was verified when the attempt was met by a wonderfully brave and long struggle against the overwhelming military strength of the United States.

We continuously urged upon our country the wickedness of this war and pleaded for its abandonment, since the demagog's cry, "our country right or wrong," was not excused by any danger of invasion or reprisal from so weak an antagonist, and we constantly tried to mitigate the horrors of the contest and remorselessly exposed the cruelties which disgraced its prosecution.

We were supported to such a degree by the people at large (our own muster roll being half a million) that in various phases of the contest only a single vote in the Senate and a single voice among the justices of the supreme court turned the scale and for the time established control of the United

States in the islands. The great leaders of the Republican party in repeated utterances through all this period have held that the Filipinos were to be independent,—the only question being when independence would be allowed. We have kept this purpose continually before the people of the United States and have constantly encouraged among yourselves the ideal to which you are pledged and for which you have shed your blood so devotedly. At last the government of the United States has declared officially that the promise shall be kept, by the bill carried through Congress under the untiring and able leadership of its author, Representative W. A. Jones, and of Senator J. F. Shafrath, with the support of Commissioner Manuel L. Quezon, and signed by President Wilson, who had pressed forward the measure.

You have made excellent use of the facilities which have been afforded you so that your readiness to maintain independence in the near future is manifest to all men.

But the facts in the case have aroused an opposition which remained latent while certain powerful interests believed that matters would be allowed to drift, and it is discovered that with them the “self-government” which they were willing to concede to you never meant independence as you fondly believed, and they now openly demand the permanent retention of the Philippine Islands, though this had been formally repudiated as impossible from the first up to the present time. Against these interests which now find their mouthpiece in candidates and leaders of the Republican party the American people and yourselves are earnestly warned. They are moved in the last resort by the purely selfish desire to protect investments, but they fail to see that with the Philippines protected by those guarantees of “weaker peoples” which will surely succeed the war, their property and the autonomy of the Philippine Islands will be safer than if they were in the possession of a nation threatened by those antagonisms which now exist and may increase.

We urge you to use the charter now bestowed as you have already used the opportunity hitherto afforded for educational and social advancement,—to lay aside party spirit and especially by every means, in the press, in public meetings and in private communication to keep alive the fires of liberty and to press forward by every peaceful and righteous method to the fulfilment of the claim now allowed. And for our own people we promise you to continue our work with vigor and per-

sistence, to impress upon them that honor, righteousness and safety as well, demand your speedy independence for the sake of the United States and the Philippine Islands, which must both suffer from the long continuance of the present relation.

(Signed)

MOORFIELD STOREY, President.

ERVING WINSLOW, Secretary.

---

On Oct. 27th "Congratulations" were cabled to Hon. Manuel L. Quezon on his election to the Presidency of the Philippine Senate.

During the past year we have lost one of our Vice-Presidents, Hon. Thomas M. Patterson of Denver, Colorado, and the following resolution was adopted by the Committee:

That as Senator, Editor and publicist, the Hon Thomas M. Patterson gave to the cause of the League an early devotion which was continued to the last, and the Executive Committee on the occasion of his lamented death joins with the citizenship of Colorado and of the country in a grateful tribute to the memory of a great Democrat.

A large circulation of documents has continued, supplying individuals, colleges, lyceums and libraries on request without charge.

ERVING WINSLOW, Secretary.



# REPORT OF THE TREASURER.

## THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST LEAGUE In Account With

DAVID G. HASKINS, Jr., *Treasurer.*

*Dr.*

To amounts expended from December 29, 1915 to December 18, 1916:	
For Postage, Express, Messengers . . . .	\$396.35
“ Stationery, Telephone, Telegraph . . .	219.11
“ Typewriting . . . . .	514.00
“ Printing . . . . .	70.45
“ Office Rent . . . . .	275.00
“ Meetings . . . . .	237.20
“ Sundries . . . . .	13.18
“ Balance on hand, December 18, 1916 . .	93.24
	<hr/> \$1618.53

*Cr.*

By Balance on hand, December 29, 1915 . .	\$ 102.23
“ Contributions . . . . .	1466.30
“ Annual Dues . . . . .	50.00
“ Bequest of Mrs. Susan Look Avery . . .	
	<hr/> \$1618.53

Room 71, 10 Tremont St., Boston, Mass.

I have examined the book and vouchers of David G. Haskins, Jr., Treasurer of the Anti-Imperialist League, from December 29, 1915 to December 18, 1916, and find the accounts correctly kept and properly vouched.

December 18, 1916.

JOHN G. HAYWARD.

Your Treasurer can never present an annual report without a warm word of thanks and appreciation to the men and women who by their generous assistance, sometimes involving real self-sacrifice, have made and are still making possible the great work of the League for true Americanism and for the rights of the injured Filipinos. From the giver of twenty-five cents up to the few whose gifts are reckoned in hundreds of dollars, these noble and worthy patriots are staunchly doing their part to preserve the honor and the ideals of the American Republic, still giving as cheerfully and as freely in this eighteenth year of the League's activities as they did in the beginning;—faithful unto death and even beyond, as has just been touchingly shown this year in the case of one earnest member, the late Mrs. Susan Look Avery of Chicago, from whose estate the League has lately received a check for fifty dollars.

Since the last annual meeting very important events have occurred. Last spring success far beyond our expectations seemed almost within our grasp, when an amendment offered by the late Senator Clarke of Arkansas to the pending Philippine bill, providing for independence within four years, passed the Senate and only failed in the House through the opposition of the solid Republican minority with the aid of a small group of traitorous Democrats, largely from New York, four of them, I regret to say, from Massachusetts. This was a bitter disappointment.

But on the other hand, the Jones bill without the amendment was enacted, abolishing the objectionable Philippine Commission and giving the Filipinos control of both branches of their newly created legislature. And still more important, President Wilson, who had favored both bill and amendment, after a campaign of almost unexampled vituperation and abuse heaped upon him by the raging militarists and imperialists, was triumphantly re-elected by the largest popular vote ever received by an American President. And the Democratic party, which, whatever its failures may have been, has been in the main the firm opponent of both militarism and imperialism, has won an astonishing success. The defeated candidate, Mr. Hughes, though able, honest and patriotic, certainly could not appeal to the anti-imperialist vote. In his speech of acceptance, he devoted one brief, perfunctory paragraph to the question of the Philippines and I believe never mentioned them again during the campaign. He said in that paragraph that: "It is not a question of self interest. We have assumed international obli-

gations which we should not permit ourselves to evade. A breach of trust is not an admissible American policy, though our opponents have seemed to consider it such. We should administer government in the Philippines with a full recognition of our international duty, without partisanship, with the aim of maintaining the highest standards of expert administration, and in the interest of the Filipinos. This is a matter of national honor." That was all. Not a word of any Filipino rights, no word of possible independence in any future, however remote. A cold, legal imperialist, more reactionary than Mr. Taft or even Mr. Roosevelt, concerned more for the rights and interests of other nations in the Islands than with our duty towards the Filipinos, apparently deeming the pending Jones bill a breach of trust, little interested in the subject anyway,—the defeat of such a man was a great victory for our cause.

And now, what of the future? Had the Clarke amendment been adopted it might almost seem that the League might have disbanded. But as it is, our original work remains incomplete. No time has been set for granting that independence which the Democratic party has always demanded and which this country must grant some day. Very powerful influences have worked in Congress against independence among Democrats as well as Republicans and will continue their opposition in the future. The League can never cease its labors till independence for the long-suffering Filipinos has been secured.

Perhaps not then. For the League stands for the great principle of the right of every people, however small or feeble or uncivilized, to govern itself. Its platform is comprised in the words of our own Declaration of Independence, "Governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed." And if that principle, the consent of the governed, is disregarded, as may be or may have been the case in our dealings with any other small nation, with Honduras or Nicaragua, with Hayti or Santo Domingo, the League will still find plenty of work to do. Ours, I believe, is the only society in the world especially pledged to the support of this great and vital doctrine, the absolute right of every people to choose its own government. And as such it has a very important mission. Should it not really become a permanent organization? Its principles are too lightly regarded, even in republican America. Is it any wonder that Europe scarcely realizes the existence of such rights? Today Belgium, Alsace-Lorraine, Poland, Schleswig-Holstein, Albania, present the same problem as the Philip-

piners. Shall they decide freely their own future, or shall they be merely played like pawns on the great chess board of European diplomacy? Is not the League still needed with its great message to all men? In the midst of the great world-wide storm of war and militarism and imperialism, is it a time for our society, pledged to this great principle, to cease its activities? I believe the League will answer no, and, if not, then once more the Treasurer must remind the members that, if it is to continue and increase its efforts, it should have more money and more members. Let us remember that, in spite of the foolish and unpatriotic talk of some Americans as to the feeling abroad towards this country, it is evident that the attitude and sentiments of this powerful neutral nation carry great weight with the warring countries. And when Peace at last shall return and the re-adjustments take place, the voice of America may exert a powerful influence. And, if that great opportunity shall come to her, will she be true to her earlier and better traditions? What will she say?

Here is an inspiring vision for us of the League. Our country needs our message. She needs a public opinion quickened and fired with enthusiasm for the principles of her revolutionary days. May it not be our high privilege to do something, however little, to kindle anew in her bosom a love and devotion to those great teachings of her own Declaration of Independence which we hold to be second only to the truths of the Holy Bible; to help her to be true to herself and her historic principles; and, if the time shall come, peaceably but urgently to stand, as the strong, insistent champion of the great God-given right of self-government for the weak and oppressed of all lands. To what greater glory could she aspire? Shall we not with the divine blessing attempt this patriotic work; and seek to the utmost of our capacity to render this great service to Europe and America, to God and man?

DAVID G. HASKINS, JR., Treasurer.



## ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT

Ladies and Gentlemen of the Anti-Imperialist League:

The cause of imperialism has not gained since our last meeting, and the year has only furnished in abundance fresh evidence that "no man is good enough to govern another without that other's consent."

The German people, deceived by their Kaiser into believing that their opponents made war upon them and that they are only acting in self-defence, go to their deaths by hundreds of thousands, unconscious that they are defending themselves as the burglar does who is caught in committing his crime and resists the officers of the law. They, by their silence as well as by their active support, have approved the violation of treaties, murder, robbery, rape, arson, and the mutilation of women and children committed in Belgium, France, Serbia and Poland in carrying out Germany's deliberate policy of making war frightful by visiting all these horrors upon peaceful citizens. They have rejoiced in the sinking of the *Lusitania* and other ships and the murder of innocent passengers; they have not lifted hand or voice to stay their allies, the Turks, in the wholesale deportation and massacre of Armenians and Syrians, and, indeed, they have so far followed the example of the Turk as to tear from their country the Belgian men whose means of livelihood they have taken or destroyed, and because they have made them beggars, now make them slaves.

The doctrines which they profess and practice strike at the very root of civilization, and were they to prevail no other nation in Europe, great or small, could hope long to retain its independence, while our own hemisphere would no longer feel safe from foreign aggression.

The salt air clears our eyes and looking across the ocean we see and denounce the claims and the acts of Germany, we shudder at the outrages which small nations have suffered at her hands, and we feel that until her people, either through defeat or a change of heart, abandon the doctrines which they now preach, and become satisfied that their strength gives them no right to murder and rob their weaker neighbors, Germany's power is a menace to civilization everywhere.

Let us now turn our eyes upon ourselves and see whether our own skirts are clear of like offence.

So far as the Philippine Islands are concerned we have much to be grateful for. It is indeed true that the bill which fixed a date for their independence and provided a method of establishing it, though it passed the Senate was defeated by certain Democrats in the House of Representatives who refused to stand by the principles and pledges of their party. The opposition came from financial interests who hope to gain by exploiting the islands or are afraid that the Filipinos would not protect their investments, and these were aided by men who feared that certain ecclesiastical interests might suffer if the people of the islands came to their own. Let me quote on this point a passage from the speech of Mr. Jones, the chairman of the Philippine Committee in the House of Representatives:

"The manufacturers of certain American products, for which they have been finding a market in the Philippines, have also been busy in urging Members of Congress to vote against the Clarke amendment upon the ground that the alienation of the Philippines would mean to them the loss of that market. A manufacturer of cotton goods, claiming to represent thirteen such concerns, recently strove to convince me that the Clarke amendment should not be adopted because it would mean an annual loss to the cotton manufacturers of a trade approximating \$5,000,000 in value. He made the astounding statement, too, that the manufacturers' profit on these goods did not exceed five per cent of their value. In other words, according to this manufacturer of cotton goods, it is the duty of the United States to retain possession of the Philippines indefinitely in order that he and his associates may put into their pockets the sum of \$250,000 annually. \* \* \* \* The mask of altruism, heretofore concealing the real purpose and designs of the imperialistic advocates of colonialism, has at last been cast aside, and we are now given to see that the real, animating purpose of those who would retain possession of the Philippines forever, in utter disregard of the cost and danger involved in such a course to the United States, and in cruel indifference to the God-given rights of the Filipino people, is based on commercial greed. Precious little, if anything, is now heard of the high-sounding doctrine "The Philippines for the Filipinos." It has ceased to be the party cry of those who oppose Philippine independence. They are now openly and shamelessly appealing to the forces of selfishness and greed, heedless of

the fact that it was President McKinley who said, "The Philippines are not ours to exploit, but to develop, to civilize, to educate, to train in the science of self-government."

False statements of all sorts were circulated. Thus in the Chicago Herald of April 11th appeared the following:

"A petition is circulating in the Philippines urging the United States to make a solemn declaration that it will not relinquish control of the islands. The authors express a desire for self-government, but they want the American flag. \* \*

"It is a known fact that able and prominent Filipinos do not hesitate to express the opinion that the withdrawal of American control would shortly result in chaos. Have these men reached the point where they are prepared to convert private conviction into public statement? The progress of the petition should show whether they have or not."

To this statement "The Independent" of Manila replied:

"'The Chicago Herald' has been miserably deceived or is iniquitously deceiving the American people. Not a word of what the American contemporary says above is true. There is no such petition, no movement against the independence nor are there anti-independence Filipinos. There is nothing at all. Here, in the Philippines, there is no hatred to the American flag, but all the Filipino people desire and claim their national independence. Nobody is discussing this point. To deny it, you must close your eyes to the reality."

This is only a specimen of the stories which were circulated to defeat the bill, and the opposition by such weapons succeeded in defeating the Clarke amendment, but Mr. Jones continued the contest and succeeded in passing his bill which is a great step in advance. The vague suggestions that we were holding the islands in trust for the Filipinos, and that in time when we should think them fit for independence we would grant it, have taken definite form and the Congress of the United States has solemnly declared that "it was never the intention of the people of the United States in the incipency of the war with Spain to make it a war of conquest or for territorial aggrandizement," and "it is, as it has always been, the purpose of the people of the United States to withdraw their sovereignty over the Philippine Islands and to recognize their independence as soon as a stable government can be established therein."

This establishes for all time the title of the Filipinos to ultimate independence, and meanwhile they are vested with the



control of the legislature with large powers. It is unnecessary to enumerate here the provisions of the bill which insure to the Filipinos the opportunity to prove their ability to govern themselves. It is the beginning of the end, and we may all rejoice that the people of the Philippines are not compelled to launch their new bark when the international ocean is so stormy as it is today. The period of probation which the bill secures will enable them to organize their government, solidify their position in every way, and show that they can well be trusted, when the sea is calm and the rights of small nations are again respected, to navigate their vessel with success.

For the gain that has been made both Americans and Filipinos must thank the author of this legislation, Mr. Jones, whose courage and persistence have never failed, the President who found the measure pending when he took office and has insured its passage by his powerful support, Senators Hitchcock and Shafroth who had charge of it in the Senate, and Senor Quezon who has fought for his countrymen with rare eloquence, unvarying courtesy, untiring perseverance amid great discouragement, and a personal charm which has conciliated and disarmed his opponents, while it has afforded the best possible evidence that the Filipino is competent not only to govern himself, but to meet on equal terms the men who govern the United States. It is pleasant to record the fact that his countrymen appreciating his success have made him the president of the first Philippine Senate.

Dire prophecies of ruin to all the business interests in the islands and of general chaos were scattered broadcast while the bill was pending. Not one has been realized, and the Philippine Islands were never so prosperous as now. The Springfield Republican well said before the election in November:

"The sufficient proof of the success of the Wilson regime in governing the Philippine Islands is the fact that there is no Philippine issue in the present campaign. The struggle for the control of the United States government is nearly ended, yet the Republican candidate has ignored Philippine questions. When Mr. Hughes is virtually silent about a great department of administration and its peculiar problems, one can only infer that in such a department the president has scored a triumph. \* \* \* \*

"The Democrats have gone faster than the Republicans would have gone in satisfying the popular desire for more self-



governing power in the Philippines, yet no predictions of complete and shameful failure for the Wilson administration have been more strikingly falsified than the predictions that attended the new policy taken to Manila by Mr. Wilson's governor-general, Francis Burton Harrison, early in 1913."

It is pleasant also to pay our tribute of high praise to Governor-General Harrison's success in his great office. He has been so modest that the people of this country have not heard what he has done, but the Filipino people know it and are grateful. Their sentiments are expressed on the tablet presented to him by the City of Manila, upon which we may read the following:

"To Governor General Harrison, whose successful administration in the Philippine islands, based on the principle of self-government and reliance in native ability, has paved the way for the establishment of a new government unique in the history of the world, leading to the voluntary withdrawal of a sovereignty and the birth of a new nation conceived in liberty and dedicated to democracy.

September 1, 1916.

The City of Manila."

It is not surprising that he said in reply to the presentation:

"I esteem it the greatest privilege of my life to have been here in office during these important times in Philippine history, and to have been associated with so many sincere, honorable and devoted officials of the government, both American and Filipino, in the development of the policy of self-government for the Filipinos. I also esteem it the greatest reward which can come to any man to have received in some degree the confidence and good-will of the people of the islands whom I have endeavored to serve."

Under him military rule has given way to civil government, the Moros, long described as untamable savages, have been serene and happy under Governor Carpenter, all talk of "iron rule" has been abandoned, friction between the Philippine House of Representatives and the Council has disappeared, no insurrection has vexed the peace, and the islands have prospered. It is with sincere regret that we hear of Governor Harrison's proposed retirement, and we can only hope that his successor may be a man determined to preserve all that has been gained, and to maintain a policy which has been so triumphantly successful.

Let us look a little nearer home. The President has ful-

filled his party's pledge to the islands of the Pacific, and we are all grateful to him for this. But there are small nations near home in Central America and the West Indies. While we shudder at the fate of Belgium and Serbia, and insist that the rights of small nations must be respected by the great powers of Europe, how are small nations faring at the hands of the great power on this side of the Atlantic? Our professions are fair. No words can be better than those of Secretary Root at the Conference of American Republics held in Rio de Janeiro on July 31st, 1906:

"We wish for no victories but those of peace; for no territory except our own; for no sovereignty except the sovereignty over ourselves. We deem the independence and equal rights of the smallest and weakest member of the family of nations entitled to as much respect as those of the greatest empire, and we deem the observance of that respect the chief guaranty of the weak against the oppression of the strong. We neither claim nor desire any rights, privileges, or powers that we do not freely concede to every American Republic."

Less than a year ago Secretary Lansing, Mr. Root and Dr. Scott framed for the Pan-American Congress the following preamble and declaration:

"Whereas, these fundamental rights of national jurisprudence, namely, the right to life, the right to liberty, the right to the pursuit of happiness, the right to equality before the law, the right to property, and the right to the observance thereof are, stated in terms of international law, *the right of the nation to exist and to protect and to conserve its existence; the right of independence and the freedom to develop itself without interference or control from other nations*, the right of equality in law and before law; *the right to territory within defined boundaries and to exclusive jurisdiction therein*; and the right to the observance of those fundamental rights;"

\* \* \* \* \*

"3. Every nation is in law and before law the equal of every other state composing the society of nations, and all states have the right to claim, and, according to the Declaration of Independence of the United States, to assume, among the Powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them.

"4. Every nation has the right to territory within defined boundaries, and to exercise exclusive jurisdiction over this

territory, and all persons, whether native or foreign, found therein.

"5. Every nation entitled to a right by the law of nations is entitled to have that right respected and protected by all other nations, for right and duty are correlative, and the right of one is the duty of all to observe."

The constitution of the United States vests in Congress the right to declare war, and nowhere in that instrument can be found a line authorizing the President to interfere in the affairs of any other nation, or to use the land and naval forces of the United States to preserve order in any other country unless in the course of a war declared by Congress. How has the Constitution been respected? I have before me a letter from a distinguished senator of the United States which thus describes what we have done in Nicaragua:

"Our brutally taking possession of Nicaragua, actually carrying on war, killing hundreds of her people, taking possession of her capital and forcing through a treaty greatly to our advantage and still holding the capital under the control of our marines while doing so is one of the most shameless things in the history of our country." It was begun under President Taft, but

"When this administration came into power after first renouncing all dollar diplomacy it shortly thereafter sent in practically the same treaty, indeed in substance the very same treaty. But we went into Nicaragua without any justification and without authority upon the part of Congress and carried on war in Nicaragua as thoroughly and effectively as we carried on a war in Mexico in 1848, and even with less conscience behind it."

Now the international tribunal established with our approval for the determination of questions between the Central American states has decided that Nicaragua had no right to make that treaty, and that its provisions invade the rights of two other countries. Do we propose to respect this decision, or shall we disregard the rights of these weak republics and adopt at home the policy which we denounce abroad?

How is it in San Domingo and Hayti? In both those states our military or naval officers are in control of the government. Congress has declared war on neither, and yet in both we have intervened, and the recent Geographical Magazine has a picture of the Haytian government in session with a United States marine in the background.



The Panama Canal Zone was taken in violation of solemn treaty. We did not even pay it the respect of calling it "a scrap of paper." We ignored its existence, and the Senate now hesitates to ratify the treaty which makes reparation to Colombia for our wrong.

We recognize that the friendship of our Southern neighbors is important to us. We invite them to conferences and treat them with lavish hospitality. We let them join us in laying down sound principles for the regulation of our mutual intercourse, and we make solemn professions of our respect for their rights, and yet while the ink is wet on these declarations we ignore them deliberately. We say that we pay as careful respect to the rights of the small as of the great nation. Imagine our treating France, or England, as we are treating Nicaragua or Hayti. Such hypocritical professions deceive no one. They only destroy all faith in our promises. They are not only wrong but stupid, and it cannot be that we acquire or retain the confidence of any nation whatever while we deal with our small neighbors as we are dealing with them now.

Germany's course is atrocious, but at least she does not pretend that she was right in breaking her treaty with Belgium and making war on that stricken country. We invade Nicaragua, Hayti and San Domingo, but pretend all the while that we respect their independent rights. How long will the American people see their power thus used, and how long will they expect the friendship of Central and South American nations in spite of such abuses?

Not only do these acts violate international law and our solemn professions, but they violate our own constitution. What has been done in the countries which I have named has been done through usurpation by the President of power not confided to him. To make war without a declaration of war by Congress is open usurpation, and it has been done too often in recent years. Let us hope that Congress will investigate the situation and lay the truth before the country.

This at least is clear, that until action like this is thoroughly discredited and the persons responsible learn that it is not tolerated by the people of the United States, our work is not done, and the Anti-Imperialist League must live to support the ideals which this government was founded to maintain.



## ELECTION OF OFFICERS

Mr. W. H. H. Bryant and Mr. H. A. Carson were appointed a Committee to distribute, collect and count ballots, and the following officers were reported as chosen:

President  
Moorfield Storey

Treasurer  
David Greene Haskins, Jr.

Secretary  
Erving Winslow

### Executive Committee

Edward H. Clement  
Frederick Brooks  
James H. Bowditch  
Albert S. Parsons

Charles Fleischer  
Albion A. Perry  
John Ritchie  
Frank B. Sanborn

Fiske Warren

### Vice-Presidents

#### ALABAMA.

President George H. Denny, Tuscaloosa.  
Prof. Edgar B. Kay, Tuscaloosa.  
Prof. H. A. Sayre, Tuscaloosa.  
Hon. Oscar W. Underwood, Birmingham.

#### ALASKA.

Martin Harrais, Esq., Chena.  
John Ronan, Esq., Fairbanks.

#### ARIZONA.

Frank P. Trott, Esq., Phoenix.

#### ARKANSAS.

Hon. W. M. Kavanaugh, Little Rock.

#### CALIFORNIA.

J. H. Barry, Esq., San Francisco.  
Rev. J. H. Crooker, Redlands.  
Mrs. Maria Freeman Gray, San Francisco.  
Chancellor David Starr Jordan, Leland Stanford University.  
C. F. Lummis, Esq., Los Angeles.  
Hon. Warren Olney, Oakland.  
William H. Rogers, Esq., San Jose.

#### COLORADO.

Hon. John A. Martin, Pueblo.  
Hon. John F. Shafroth, Denver.  
Hon. C. S. Thomas, Denver.

#### CONNECTICUT.

Prof. Geo. T. Ladd, New Haven.  
Hon. Charles F. Thayer, Norwich.

#### DELAWARE.

William Canby Ferris, Esq., Wilmington.  
Hon. Richard R. Kenney, Dover.

#### DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

Hon. Josephus Daniels, Washington.  
Samuel Gompers, Esq., Washington.  
Gen. Nelson A. Miles, Washington.  
Hon. Louis F. Post, Washington.  
Mrs. Alice Thacher Post, Washington.  
Hon. Jackson H. Ralston, Washington.  
Very Rev. George M. Searle, Washington.

#### FLORIDA.

Hon. Thomas M. Shackelford, Tallahassee.

#### GEORGIA.

Hon. James H. Blount, Macon.  
Hon. W. H. Fleming, Augusta.  
Gen. James Gadsden Holmes, Macon.  
Hon. Peter W. Meldrim, Savannah.  
Hon. Hoke Smith, Atlanta.

## IDAHO.

Hon. Simon P. Donnelly, Lakeview.

## ILLINOIS.

Miss Jane Addams, Chicago.

Hon. Edward Osgood Brown, Chicago.

Waldo R. Browne, Esq., Chicago.

R. T. Crane, Jr., Esq., Chicago.

Prof. Starr Willard Cutting, Chicago.

Prof. William E. Dodd, Chicago.

Frederick W. Gookin, Esq., Chicago.

Prof. William Gardner Hale, Chicago.

Prof. Ira W. Howerth, Chicago.

Rev. Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Chicago.

Rev. Alonzo K. Parker, Chicago.

Dr. William Morton Payne, Chicago.

Prof. Frederick Starr, Chicago.

Charles M. Sturges, Esq., Chicago.

Prof. A. H. Tolman, Chicago.

Sigmund Zeisler, Esq., Chicago.

## INDIANA.

Hon. Cyrus Cline, Angola.

Hon. H. U. Johnson, Richmond.

## IOWA.

Hon. Horace Boies, Waterloo.

Hon. Cato Sells, Vinton.

Hon. Henry Vollmer, Davenport.

## KANSAS.

Hugh P. Farrelly, Esq., Chanute.

## KENTUCKY.

James G. Howard, Esq., Lock.

Stephen D. Parrish, Esq., Richmond.

## LOUISIANA.

Prof. W. B. Gregory, New Orleans.

Pres. E. L. Stephens, Lafayette.

## MAINE.

President George C. Chase, Lewiston.

Dr. Seth C. Gordon, Portland.

Hon. Luther F. McKinney, Bridgton.

## MARYLAND.

Hon. John V. LeMoyne, Baltimore.

Hon. George L. Wellington, Cumberland.

## MASSACHUSETTS.

Magnus W. Alexander, Esq., Lynn.

Mrs. Charles Gordon Ames, Boston.

Rev. A. A. Berle, Cambridge.

Col. C. R. Codman, Brookline.

Rev. C. F. Dole, Boston.

Prof. Garrett Droppers, Williamstown.

Thomas B. Fitzpatrick, Esq., Boston.

Rev. Edward M. Gushee, Cambridge.

President G. Stanley Hall, Worcester.

Hon. J. M. Head, Boston.

Hon. Roger Sherman Hoar, Concord.

Prof. Lewis J. Johnson, Cambridge.

Hon. George W. Kelley, Rockland.

Henry W. Lamb, Esq., Brookline.

Hon. Samuel W. McCall, Winchester.

Edwin D. Mead, Esq., Boston.

Mrs. Lucia Ames Mead, Boston.

James P. Munroe, Esq., Boston.

Miss Emily L. Osgood, Lincoln.

Hon. Herbert C. Parsons, Greenfield.

Rev. Charles H. Pennoyer, Attleborough.

Hon. Josiah Quincy, Boston.

Dr. Francis H. Rowley, Boston.

Rev. W. H. van Allen, Boston.

Hon. Winslow Warren, Dedham.

## MICHIGAN.

Charles S. Hampton, Esq., Detroit.

Charles Humphrey, Esq., Adrian.

Rev. Jabez T. Sunderland, Detroit.

Rt. Rev. Charles D. Williams, Detroit.

## MINNESOTA.

Frederick G. Corser, Esq., Minneapolis.

Hon. John Lind, Minneapolis.

S. A. Stockwell, Esq., Minneapolis.

## MISSISSIPPI.

Hon. John S. Williams, Yazoo City.

## MISSOURI.

John P. Herrmann, Esq., St. Louis.

William Marion Reedy, Esq., St. Louis.

## MONTANA.

Massena Bullard, Esq., Helena.

Andrew Dunsire, Esq., Kalispell.

Edward Scharnikow, Esq., Deer Lodge.

## NEBRASKA.

A. J. Sawyer, Esq., Lincoln.

Rt. Rev. Arthur S. Williams, Omaha.

## NEVADA.

Dr. J. J. Sullivan, Virginia City.

## NEW HAMPSHIRE

Hon. Henry F. Hollis, Concord.

## NEW JERSEY.

Ralph W. E. Donges, Esq., Camden.  
Hon. Eugene F. Kinkead, Jersey City.

## NEW YORK.

Everett V. Abbot, Esq., New York.  
Rev. Richard W. Boynton, Buffalo.  
Andrew Carnegie, Esq., New York.  
R. Fulton Cutting, Esq., New York.  
Charles Stewart Davison, Esq., New York.  
Prof. John Dewey, New York.  
Austen G. Fox, Esq., New York.  
Henry W. Haddon, Esq., New York.  
Henry Hentz, Esq., New York.  
William Dean Howells, Esq., New York.  
Prof. Jacques Loeb, New York.  
Hon. Thomas Mott Osborne, Auburn.  
Rev. C. H. Parkhurst, New York.  
Mrs. Fanny Garrison Villard, Dobbs Ferry.  
Oswald Garrison Villard, New York.

## NORTH CAROLINA.

President L. L. Hobbs, Guilford.

## NORTH DAKOTA.

A. C. Reinecke, Esq., Fargo.

## OHIO.

John H. Clarke, Esq., Cleveland.  
Hon. John J. Lentz, Columbus.  
Hon. Rufus B. Smith, Cincinnati.  
Edward Stang, Esq., Cincinnati.  
Hon. Brand Whitlock, Toledo.  
Charles B. Wilby, Esq., Cincinnati.

## OKLAHOMA.

Dr. D. H. Patton, Woodward.

## OREGON.

James Hennessy Murphy, Esq., Portland.  
H. B. Nicholas, Esq., Portland.  
Col. C. E. S. Wood, Portland.

## PENNSYLVANIA.

Samuel Bowles, Jr., Esq., Philadelphia.  
Mrs. Mary Fels, Philadelphia.  
Dr. W. Horace Hoskins, Philadelphia.

Francis Fisher Kane, Esq., Philadelphia.  
Mickle C. Paul, Esq., Philadelphia.  
Frank Stephens, Esq., Philadelphia.  
Dr. Robert Ellis Thompson, Philadelphia.  
Herbert Welsh, Esq., Philadelphia.

## RHODE ISLAND.

Hon. Lucius F. C. Garvin, Lonsdale.  
Edwin C. Pierce, Esq., Providence.

## SOUTH CAROLINA.

Willie Jones, Esq., Columbia.  
Hon. James Simons, Charleston.

## SOUTH DAKOTA.

Hon. Levi McGee, Rapid City.  
Joseph B. Moore, Esq., Lead.  
Hon. Richard F. Pettigrew, Sioux Falls.

## TENNESSEE.

Hon. John Wesley Gaines, Nashville.

## TEXAS.

Frederick Opp, Esq., Llano.  
Hon. James L. Slayden, San Antonio.

## UTAH.

P. J. Daly, Esq., Salt Lake City.

## VERMONT.

Major F. W. Childs, Brattleboro.

## VIRGINIA.

Dr. Paul B. Barringer, Charlottesville.  
Prof. James Hardy Dillard, Charlottesville.

## WASHINGTON.

C. G. Heifner, Esq., Seattle.

## WEST VIRGINIA.

Hon. A. S. Johnston, Union.  
Hon. John E. Stealey, Clarksburg.

## WISCONSIN.

William George Bruce, Esq., Milwaukee.

## WYOMING.

Hon. John C. Hamm, Cheyenne.

## RESOLUTION

Mr. Frederick Brooks said in submitting the following address, which was unanimously adopted by the Meeting to be sent to the President of the United States and communicated to the press:

I have to speak for the Executive Committee, which held a meeting ten days ago, called especially to consider the proposition of an address to the President of the United States. The meeting was attended by as many as usual of the Committee, and it devoted considerable time to the discussion. The Committee approved the making of an address in the form which I am to read, and concluded to wait until today to submit it to the League at this Annual Meeting, so that, in case the League should so vote, the address might be issued in the name of the League and given to the press.

Boston, Dec. 18, 1916.

To the President:

The Anti-Imperialist League begs leave to urge that closer relations of amity with other American republics be promptly established, as proposed by yourself at the beginning of the present year at the Second Pan-American Scientific Congress. The admirable Pan-American policy has been for years supported by numerous eloquent addresses, and, prominently among others, by the one pronounced by yourself at the opening of the session of the Congress of the United States a year ago, insisting upon contentment with our present territorial possessions, and upon our treating all our sister republics on terms of equality. The world war has borne in upon our minds the enormity of violation of treaty obligations and oppression of small states by powerful ones; and it shows that it is indispensable for the maintenance of civilization that some peaceful international league should be formed, an example of which is the Central American Court of Arbitration, founded by the Washington treaties of December, 1907, and inaugurated in May, 1908. In its establishment Mexico as well as the United States took part. For this Court Mr. Carnegie gave a building which was the principal one in the city of Cartago, Costa Rica, and which was destroyed by the earthquake of May 4, 1910,



when the statue of Peace upon it was thrown to the ground, and many lives were lost. This catastrophe did not touch the real value of the Court of Arbitration, but only its building. The consultation with representatives of other American nations by the present administration with reference to relations with Mexico has called forth great praise; and it is earnestly hoped that it may be a precedent for co-operation with our neighbors of Latin-America in any other questions of similar character.

On the other hand, the actual conduct of the United States government, acting by itself alone, occasions grave anxiety. Any one who puts himself in the place of a South American must recognize grounds for suspicion in the present control by United States naval forces of the affairs of the Dominican Republic, Hayti and Nicaragua, with populations differing in race, language and religion from the majority of the people of the United States; likewise in the proposal by pending treaty to acquire the Danish West Indian Islands, in the influence dominating Panama, in the opposition to the ratification of a treaty with Colombia recognizing her long-standing claims, in the presence of a United States army in Mexico, and in the grievances of Honduras, Salvador and Costa Rica over the Nicaraguan treaty pending. Those three nations contend that their rights would be infringed upon by the making of the treaty, and in one case the contention has already been sustained by the decision of the Central American Court of Arbitration. To proceed in disregard of such a right would be the real destruction of the Court of Arbitration by one of the powers which promoted its creation. It might also destroy the friendliness toward the United States of the rest of this hemisphere, and our own self-respect.

The meeting was then dissolved.



325.323  
An 8r  
v. 19

You are earnestly asked to hand this, after reading, to some other person who will also give it careful consideration.

# REPORT

OF THE

## Nineteenth Annual Meeting

(*ADJOURNED*)

OF THE

## Anti-Imperialist League

DECEMBER 17, 1917

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA LIBRARY

FEB 18 1918

PUBLISHED BY

THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST LEAGUE

BOSTON

# REPORT

President Moorfield Storey called the Nineteenth (adjourned) Annual Meeting of the Anti-Imperialist League to order at 2 o'clock December 17, 1917, in the rooms of the Twentieth Century Club, Boston.

---

## REPORT OF THE SECRETARY

(Read by E. H. Clement, Esq.)

Today when the recurring periods arrive at which the summons is made to their servants by other organizations, banded together to promote peace and good will among men—"Watchman, tell us of the night, what the signs of promise are,"—confident and cheerful assurances in reply must be based upon faith and trust, rather than upon observation. But, strangely enough, here where we have met so often, hoping against hope for the success of our cause, deploring the fate of "the people sitting in darkness!" we meet now to felicitate ourselves and to join our honored and welcomed guests in their satisfaction, because the Archipelago of the Philippines is the one spot upon earth where the horizon is bright with promise of a Rising Sun.

To such of our own company as may be somewhat inclined to depreciate our special work in view of other violations of the doctrine of Anti-Imperialism nearer home and even by the United States, it may be said that, having put our hand to the plough, it behooves us not to falter or fail until our own harvest is reaped and a problem solved that concerns the fate of so many millions of our fellow men, and which by its just solution will offer an object lesson and an example, perhaps even furnishing a thread for the crystallization of that bloody flux in which civilization is dissolved.

Let us dwell for the hour in this place then as an oasis in our anxious and distressful pilgrimage and make the most of it, laying aside harsh recriminations and bitter memories, the later contests of greed, ambition and partisanship, harder to reconcile than the earlier antagonisms of arms and battle. The situation



is full of promise, and the one great requirement of it is this—demanding, of course, the Filipinos' initiative—that they shall ask and receive, knock and it shall be opened unto them. To urge this, to give every sort of help and encouragement, by co-operation, counsel, and it may be by inspiration;—if not too presumptuous an offer, is our duty and earnest design. The “Jones bill” practically pledges Congress to grant the application for their independence, when timely and responsibly made, by the Filipino people.

Though but the promise of a preamble, it has full and entire legislative value and authority—as the fight made against it by the enemies of Philippine liberties, and friends and agents of the foreign investor, proved. The same influences which fought against the “Jones bill” at Washington have been exerting themselves in the Philippines, taking advantage of the reaction, after the political battle was won practically, to contend that the promise of independence was in itself an end and a resting place for “economic development,” rather than a “pointe d'appui” for carrying forward the campaign to secure its fulfilment. Some of the same voices that argued for the immediate ability of the Filipinos to govern themselves during the debates of last year are, alas! whispering that perhaps they need more time for preparation. It is quite easy to see how the general Filipinization of the islands, the native acquirement of so many legislative, executive and judicial functions and the progressive means of education and social betterment, tend to a certain satisfaction with the present status—a colonial relation to the United States. And it can not be too often reiterated that a menacing force, with all the impetus of selfishness, is the conservative spirit of capital, watchful, persistent and unsleeping, which would yield so unwillingly the endorsement of the United States for its investments and the privileges of favorable tariff discrimination which impose a burden upon the Philippines; with a special security also for a high rate of interest up to a considerable sum for American capital.

Let it be granted that a certain deference is manifested among our over-sea friends to the appeals which have been allowed in Philippine publications, especially by a Mr. Dollar (illustrative name), for the abandonment of the ambitions of the nation; or that it has been feared that a special neutralization of the islands was a doubtful security, since the infraction of Belgium's inviolability! Yet the programmes of the belligerents in the world-war should encourage the revival in full vigor of the independence ideal, since those programmes involve

in any case the absolute and permanent establishment in the after-war settlement of the autonomy of "weaker peoples." Moreover, it is apparent that the time for the establishment of Philippine independence will be then, if at all in this generation. Thus the agitation for it must become the work of the hour, since we do not for a moment believe that any seeming inertia implies fundamental abandonment of the suspended aspirations now to be aroused by the exigency of the situation.

Here are the words from an editorial in the "Philippine Review," the successor and heir to Mr. Quezon's "Filipino People," which portend the lively reanimation of the patriotic spirit:

"The Philippines has a thorough conception of its ideals, its possibilities, of its needs in every line of national life, and is fully alive to the advantages and disadvantages of absolute independence. We are in possession of an up-to-date civilization as the backbone, the pith of our ideals, of which the said countries can hardly make any substantial showing, not through their own fault but through lack of chance to get education, through having been dispossessed of it. They cannot, therefore, stand as the right examples for the Philippines. On the other hand, if it is true, as it is admitted, that the Philippines is in approximately the same condition as the United States was sixty years ago; if it is true that the Philippines is in almost a better condition than Japan was about forty years ago, why should we not make such efforts—no matter at what price—as may be necessary and as may enable us to follow in the steps of the United States and of Japan, which are the bright living examples, in working eagerly, energetically, indefatigably, for the achievement of our national goal? If we are moving onward, if we are following the trend of human progress; if we are a progressive people, we should not, we must not, stop where we are now, but continue to work until we reach the end. Otherwise, if we are to stop because of fear of danger, we shall never reach our end, and tomorrow, as today, and thereafter, we will find ourselves amid the same dangers. And we shall continue in the same status unless we unflinchingly, determinedly work out our own destiny, when—and then only—we can face the world as we should—honorably as an independent country—and honorably gain its respect. Then, therefore, the only course for us to take is to follow the examples given by the United States and Japan, which are the most and the only fitting ones for us to follow, to insure the sound materialization of our legitimate ambition. Toward this end our work should

and will be, and we will continue laboring for it until the end. We believe in fate; but a happy fate is for those only who earn it. Besides, we hope this war will eventually promote our ideals and change to the better the entire course of human events and international intercourse.

"This, while not perfectly agreeable to capital at first, is not, however, altogether unfavorable to its advent. For, if not intended to serve unfair ends, capital should feel easier with legitimately ambitious people; for it is the legitimate ambition that promotes the welfare of men and the solid increase of wealth. The greatest work America can do for us, therefore, is to help us in this, our ambition, and no doubt President Wilson is already on the job. And the whole of America, the honorable American people, have only one course to take: follow in the steps of him, the leader not only of America but of Humankind, which latter surely will also follow him. Let us all, therefore, Americans and Filipinos, work together for this ideal. No doubt the world will appreciatively look at us, and think well of us, and respect us. And, then, our good fate and our gratitude should, as it would, be the best guarantee to the advent of more American capital."

However hopefully the Filipinos may have looked forward to the future, the dreaded possibility has always threatened of a seizure, by hook or by crook, of the powerful and presumably land-hungry neighbor. Always, too, had this bugbear been made the theme of the American Imperialist, particularly foreboded if our grasp should be loosened or in case of a conflict between the sovereign in the West and the great Eastern power. In course of the recent Japan Mission's progress, in which their government has so clearly and positively come to terms with our own as partners in the preservation of a sort of a Monroe doctrine in the Pacific, concerning China—a solemn declaration was incidentally made concerning Japan—which puts out of court that disturbing element, for good and all. Mr. Mechizuki, one of the parliamentary group, officially and authoritatively affirmed in an address at Honolulu, hailed in the Manila press with enthusiasm, that when the United States grants independence to the Philippines, Japan will be ready to join in guaranteeing Philippine independence. Banzai!

The work of the League has continued since the last Annual Meeting through correspondence, newspaper communications and distribution of documents for debates, for individual use



and for libraries. Not a few of these have preserved and bound full sets of our Reports.

The Executive Committee at its first meeting sent the following communication to the President:

Dec. 29, 1916.

"The Executive Committee of the Anti-Imperialist League desires respectfully to communicate to the President of the United States its conviction that his re-election endorses their own grateful sentiment that his treatment of the Philippines, democratic and not imperial, is regarded to be such as should be given all small nations."

A letter of congratulation was written to Gov. General Harrison upon his excellent service in the Philippines, expressing a hope of his return to his post after the period of rest, the need of which he was understood to have made known. It has not yet been vouchsafed him. The following extract is made from his reply:

March 11, 1917.

"I appreciate more than I can possibly express the kindness with which you approve of the work we have been doing here in the Philippines. You have been of great assistance to me, and I shall look forward upon my return to the United States to a real opportunity of meeting you and thanking you in person."

To our regret, Vice-Governor Martin resigned and has returned to the United States. Had he been left to discharge the duties of Gov. Harrison in his absence it would have been as a satisfactory "locum tenens" since Mr. Martin was thoroughly committed to continuing his chief's policy of shaping the administration in the Philippines, with a view to their alienation at an early period.

Last May Mr. Charles Emmett Yeater, of Sedalia, Missouri, was appointed to the Vice-Governorship, which had been vacant some months. He was a graduate of the University of that state and a practicing lawyer of excellent reputation. He was an appointee of Gov. Hadley as one of the Curators of the University, which was evidence of his quality. It is known that he had taken no public part in the discussion of Philippine affairs, and it was understood that he had an open mind concerning Philippine problems and no particular knowledge of them. No promise of succession accompanied the appointment, and Mr. Yeater did not even have an interview with the President before his departure. He gave us warrant on the eve



thereof by an expression of his present position (since he had looked into the subject) to believe that his views were shaping themselves in accordance with our own. He impressed our friend, Mr. Jones, who had a long interview with him, as a thoroughly clean man and possessed of sincerity and honesty of purpose. The Committee addressed to him the following letter:

Aug. 13, 1917.

"Your recent conversation with the Hon. W. A. Jones, one of our members, encourages us to lay before you the general aim of our organization, which is Philippine independence. We have labored for nineteen years to secure this, and it has now been promised by the "Jones Bill," enacted at the last session of Congress, for that measure pledges this country to grant the islanders their independence at the proper time. We have had a share in supporting this measure and in securing the recognition of our national ideals in the platform of the Democratic party, and now that the door is open, we are very anxious that the entrance of the Filipinos into the family of nations should not be delayed. We feel that the safety and welfare of our country, as well as the interests of the islands, require this, for the islands, as Governor Harrison said, are our "heel of Achilles" and neutrality protected by the international safeguards to be established after the war will secure their freedom without requiring the humiliating protection of the United States.

"Investors in the Philippine Islands, however, need careful watching and warning. We cannot create enemies to independence by informing capitalists, who seek stability for their investments in the Philippine Islands, that political agitation has ceased and that political ends have been attained, thus giving assurances, as it might be interpreted, that independence is improbable. The very contrary course should be pursued. Economic development is most desirable, but the foreign investor should be assured that the status quo is not permanent, and that, while every reasonable guaranty may be expected from the 'coming nation,' permanent protection by the United States is not to be continued. Invested capital has always been the most bitter opponent of Philippine independence. What has been gained by legislation must not now be lost by indifference to the object of that legislation.

"Your predecessor, Mr. Martin, had the cause which is pressed upon you deeply at heart, and so we understand has Governor Harrison."

Since his arrival Gov. Yeater has spoken with great frankness of his sympathy with Philippine patriotism and has assured

more than one audience of his confidence that the promise of the "Jones bill" will be fulfilled, and the American people will feel bound by the pledges of the government. On one occasion he used these words:

"Before leaving Washington I took an oath to uphold the Constitution of the United States, and I shall, to the best of my ability, prove true to that oath and uphold that Constitution and the laws that are passed by the Congress of the United States and the Insular Legislature.

"The question of the preamble of the 'Jones Law,' which carried a promise of independence in the future, is a question upon which you and I will not pass. The law itself provides that Congress may or may not ask for my opinion.

"When the time comes for that decision the Congress of the United States will decide for itself, probably by sending its Committees on the Philippines, to these Islands, to make a first hand investigation.

"I need your advice and assistance and I want you to feel that you may come to me freely and I will always be glad to listen to any suggestions.

"The preamble of the 'Jones Law' is now the solemn promise of the American Government—a promise binding upon every American. I am loyal to that promise and to the administration under which it was made."

It will be remembered that, in view of the prognostications made in earlier days that the Roman Catholic Church in the Philippines would be hampered in case of independence, many leaders in the movement made formal declaration and pledge it should be absolutely undisturbed, respecting its spiritual work. Questions as to Church temporalities had to be adjusted by the government of the United States, and as was natural where state and church had been united, as was the case during the long Spanish sovereignty, adjustment to new conditions, according to American use necessarily implying their separation, was the cause of some heart-burnings and antagonisms. Property rights tended to cause a fear in ecclesiastical quarters for the effects of the withdrawal of our control, as with other persons and corporations. On the other hand, connection with the United States involves an active support of Protestant missions whose work of "conversion" is not confined to the non-Christian natives as at first, but is openly prosecuted now among the Roman Catholics, while support is given to an "independent Catholic" church. Thus, on the whole, the advisers

of the Vatican, as we understand, incline to trust their future fortunes to a people which recognized and has not forgotten the tremendous benefits, spiritual and temporal, received from the original missionaries and teachers of the faith,—and to withdraw from politics as the Filipinos naturally desire—while the provocation of a colony or a “possession” no longer stimulates the non-Catholics of a “mother country” to an aggressive propaganda. The idea of a “free church in a free state” has thoroughly obsessed the Filipino. There is no danger of that reaction which has caused in Mexico real persecution of religion and its functionaries, along with enfranchisement from a resented authority.

The rise in the price of silver has produced a “monetary crisis” in the Philippines, through hoarding or sale of the metal, so that the silver content of the peso is worth more than its face. In this consequent departure of sorts from a “specie basis,” considerable embarrassment has been caused, and pressure created for the convenient emission of small paper currency—an inflation. Russia, lacking silver and copper, some time ago, issued in place of tokens of value, paper change down to single kopeks, worth half a cent when put out, now about one-eighth of a cent only.

It is interesting to know that in spite of the necessary spread of the English tongue through the schools and its official and business use, and the fact that it is the key to so much modern literature, the Spanish language is maintained and is even spoken more widely than ever. It had become, in a way, a national tongue, the thread which united tribal races, the official language of its short lived Republic and of course perfected, the speech of the educated class, as it still continues to be. In the local publications it is paralleled with English or Tagal, and the delays in superseding it everywhere and entirely by English, officially, have been absolutely necessary. There is not the slightest doubt that the preservation of the accustomed tongue is in some sort a most important influence in keeping alive a national consciousness until the time comes for its full development.

In opening the session of the Philippine Congress, last October, Governor Harrison dwelt upon the importance of “the final favorable opinion which the world will form of the political capacity of the Filipino people,” and went on to say: “This



will of necessity be based upon the united and responsible action of the government, working and operating like an organized and efficient whole, and keeping in view the necessities and aspirations of the people."

What these are was stated as follows in an address, adopted for transmission to the President of the United States by both Houses in their first joint session:

"We firmly believe that the final triumph of democracy, in securing for the world the principle of nationality for the benefit of the small nations, will, finally, enable our people to attain the ideals for which we have always struggled, namely, our constitution into a free and independent nation, with a democratic government of law and order, ready to be another instrument of democracy and universal progress.

A letter solicited by its editor which will appear in the current number of the "Philippine Review" may be cited here:

"A group not smaller than those which have blazed the way for many great successful reforms has for nearly twenty years made the Philippine Islands and their inhabitants the subject of hard and constant thinking and of efforts to keep what seemed their best interests, and also those of the United States in relation to them, before American citizenship and that of the archipelago.

"It is for your readers at home to pronounce a verdict upon the effects of such efforts among the Filipino people. It should have resulted in the continuance of the first eager longing for independence and in its development into a calm and earnest resolve to take advantage of the earliest possible opportunity for obtaining by peaceful means their great ideal. It had failed of attainment by a brave effort in arms, provoked by such a want of tact and of 'vision' as has seldom been shown in modern history.

"For the opportunity, open almost at will today, may be claimed by this group, with all due modesty, some not inconsiderable credit for the preservation in successive platforms of one great party, against many hindrances and much opposition, both without and within that party, of the declaration that independence should be given to the Philippine Islands. This promise was finally embodied in legislation by the act of Congress known as the "Jones Bill." The Hon. W. A. Jones, forever in Philippine annals, '*clarum et venerabile nomen*,' its author, would be the first to acknowledge the assistance by counsel and co-operation which has accompanied his earlier and later—



crowning—effort, to open the way for full Philippine independence.

“To face the situation frankly and fully there must be recognized the actual position in the Philippines—a certain reaction from the ardor with which the political battle was fought to obtain the desired boon of opportunity, and a considerable diversion to concentration upon economic development. In the United States the interest in the Philippines, never very keen, is confined to the Anti-Imperialists, still maintaining their old doctrine that separation is desirable for the welfare of both countries,—and to the capitalists and investors, who are opposed as is characteristic of these classes to any political change, whether good or bad, and who would side-track, if they could have their way, all movements to claim and take the right to national autonomy.

“Whatever may have been the case in the ‘status quo ante,’ when nations successfully sought protected interests in colonies and ‘spheres of influence’ or favorable discriminations, such as the United States has preserved for herself in the Philippines, in the future it is probable that the ‘open door’ will prevail in the settlement of lasting peace for the world where the Filipino claim must without fail be presented for ratification. There will be no allowance made then for that provocative of war of the adventurous speculator or missionary, created by the demands for protection from a mother country. The smaller nations, guaranteed in their autonomy, will be made free to benefit by unrestricted world trade. The natural riches of the Islands with the increase of intelligent native labor, in civilizing evolution, will procure them a place among the most solid and wealthy communities.

“As for the investor, the only serious risk to his property has lain in possible complications between the United States and other Great Powers, when, in certain events, an enemy might so easily have made reprisal upon her remote ‘possessions.’ The appendage would have been the first point of attack. To look forward to an internationally secured independence is the hope of native and American interests. As for the ideal, as we believe that ‘au fond,’ the American is the great idealist, and that, even if subconsciously, the Filipino still holds deep in his soul the inheritance of Rizal and of all those who shed their blood for liberty and independence, one and inseparable,—the Rising Sun will be hailed in its effulgent noon, as well by the nation which becomes the glorious Exemplar of enfranchise-

ment to a once subjected nation, as by its high-hearted and noble people."

When Mr. Quezon came over to propose a contingent of 25,000 troops, and the offer of a native built dreadnaught and destroyer is made for the assistance of the United States,—called a testimony of "loyalty" due to the promise of independence—it is not to be regarded as loyalty to the sovereignty of America so much as the pledge and presage of a future sovereign's loyalty of friendship, to an ally.

We have warrant for our sanguine mood. It will be remembered that President Wilson, whose moral leadership is now so clearly recognized in the civilized world, gave his approval to the "Clarke amendment" which promised immediate independence to the Philippines, and in his war message said:

There is a matter "very intimately associated with the question of national safety and preparation for defence. That is our policy towards the Philippines. \* \* \* \* We must be free from every unnecessary burden or embarrassment; and there is no better way to be clear of embarrassment than to fulfil our promises."

In 1919 the Anti-Imperialist League will have attained its majority, on its twenty-first birthday. Is it not a reasonable as well as a pious hope that we may welcome by that time the birth of the youngest sister of the American Democracy, with "Viva la Republica Filipina!"

## NECROLOGY.

The League has suffered more than one great loss. For many years Mr. F. B. Sanborn, of Concord, had been a member of the Executive Committee and constant at its meetings, where he was fertile and original in suggestions, most helpfully critical and always cheerful and inspiring. Upon his death the Committee recorded the following vote:

March 1, 1917.

"Association for so long a period with Franklin Benjamin Sanborn in the Executive Committee of the Anti-Imperialist League has won from its members most grateful and continuing recognition of the value to its principles and practice of his

historical knowledge, his experience in affairs and his enthusiasm for humanity. Almost his last words were those of hope and confidence in the fulfilment of our aim when those principles, re-established after the awful war which followed their violation, may be illustrated by the United States, in completing its declared policy, through granting full independence to the Filipinos.

“By closing up our ranks shoulder to shoulder for the victory, still to be finally achieved, we best honor the memory of Mr. Sanborn and our other great founders and leaders.”

Mr. John P. Herrmann, of St. Louis, a Vice-President of the League, died in that city, September 3rd. The Committee passed the following vote:

September 26, 1917.

“Mr. Herrmann was for many years a Vice-President of the League for Missouri and served it with the zeal and energy which were his characteristics; in particular by representing it upon delegations to the Democratic conventions at St. Louis and Baltimore, and by persistent advocacy of its principles in his native state and city, where he was active in all public affairs. To those who knew him best he was endeared by a warm heart and a gift for friendship; and those whose opposition he had to meet respected his motives and their always fearless expression. Mr. Herrmann’s sudden death left a touching ‘Nunc dimittis,’ in a pencilled memorandum for a letter intended to be written to this Committee, of felicitation that we might look upon Philippine independence at last as in sight, through the congressional promise thereof.”

Since the recent death of the Rev. Edward M. Gushee, of Cambridge—a Massachusetts Vice-President—there has been no opportunity for the Committee to take the usual action upon such a loss. It becomes us to testify here to the zeal and enthusiasm with which, up to fourscore years, this warrior of the Church militant fought the good fight against wrongs to mankind, especially those inflicted by imperialism, whenever and wherever its challenge was made.

Another empty place today here, and in many of our hearts, is that of our trusty companion-in-arms, Walter C. Wright. Worthy successor in the field where his father won his bloodless battles; paladin of the widow, the orphan and the unfortunate, victims of great economic wrongs, Mr. Wright added to his

labors in many other good causes an entire devotion to the work and the aims of our League. We can heartily endorse what the great Assurance Company, with which he had recently been connected, wrote to us, in exchanging words of sympathy on his loss: "Whatever he undertook to do he did with a whole-hearted interest and an enthusiasm not easily weakened, ever mindful of the cause for which he was working and hopeful of its ultimate success." In the scientific modes of estimating character we neglect due emphasis nowadays on the value of that simple language which always appeals to the untutored and to the child; written by heredity and worthy life and thought, in the countenance. As we recall the aptly named Wright, with what a pleasant memory it is of a face speaking intelligence, modesty and gentleness, lit with eager fervour! We shall not soon "look upon his like again."

ERVING WINSLOW, Secretary.



# REPORT OF THE TREASURER.

## THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST LEAGUE In Account With

DAVID G. HASKINS, Jr., *Treasurer.*

*Dr.*

To amounts expended from December 18, 1916  
to December 17, 1917:

For Postage, Express, Messengers . . .	\$280.15
" Stationery, Telephone, Telegraph . . .	120.33
" Typewriting . . .	385.00
" Office Rent . . .	200.00
" Printing . . .	66.30
" Annual Meeting and Lunch . . .	36.60
" Secretary's Expenditures for additional print- ing, postage, stationery, typewriting, etc. .	35.00
" Sundries . . .	11.55
" Balance to new account, December 17, 1917	289.21
	<hr/> 1424.14

*Cr.*

By Balance on hand, December 17, 1916 . .	\$ 93.24
" Contributions . . .	1330.90
" Annual Dues . . .	

---

\$1424.14

E. & O. E.

D. G. HASKINS, Jr., *Treasurer.*

Audited December 17, 1917 by JOHN G. HAYWARD

## REPORT OF THE TREASURER

Great and momentous changes have occurred since the last meeting of the League. The United States have become involved in the terrible European War; and our people have freely contributed their time, their services, and their purses to meet the new and tremendous demands upon them. In the midst of these absorbing concerns one might have thought that the destinies of our remote Asiatic islands and their people might have been at least temporarily forgotten. But the members of the League, loyal and devoted through all vicissitudes of fortune, have continued their stanch support though many have died and a few have left us. Anti-imperialists are not quitters.

The developments of the war have indeed tended to strengthen our cause. Never within the memory of any man now living has there been such a widespread hatred in this country for the two accursed twins—militarism and imperialism. Never have the rights of the little peoples of the world received such sympathetic consideration. The President has declared the purpose of the nation to make the world safe for democracy; and something of the early American passion for liberty in all the world seems to have revived in the bosoms of our people. Surely the plea of the Filipinos through their duly elected Commissioners to the United States Congress—our guests of honor today—should fall on specially sympathetic ears, not only in this meeting but in the country. Some advance has been made in the process of self government by the Filipinos. The experiment is being tried, and they will surely do their part in convincing our people of their capacity for managing their own affairs. And we here must keep the issue alive, and insist upon the justice, to these so called “wards” of the nation, which for nearly twenty years they have fought for and demanded in vain. The story of our relations with them is not a chapter in our national history upon which any one with real democratic principles can reflect with pride or satisfaction. The shameful betrayal of our allies in the war with Spain, the purchase of them from their defeated masters, the ruthless

destruction of their infant republic by a war of conquest, stained with treachery and atrocities, do not harmonize with our present attitude, nor justify us in any pharisaical self satisfaction, or too great eagerness to throw stones at the imperialists of Europe. If we are sincere in our championing of the rights of the little nations of Europe we must stand equally for the rights of the little nations of Asia. If we demand justice for Belgium and Serbia, we must do justice to the Philippines. Democracy is not the exclusive right of any race or land. And when we come into the final Peace Council at the end of this war (and may God in his infinite mercy grant that it may be soon) we must come into Court with clean hands and a pure heart,—a great nation truly democratic, true to the great principles of our Declaration of Independence, in deeds and not merely in professions. The work of the League is not merely to hasten the coming independence of the Filipinos, but to help our own country to take its place, in this hemisphere and wherever else its influence may extend, as the example and not merely the preacher of righteousness and democracy. And so we will go on with our work with full trust and confidence.

For right is right, since God is God,  
And right the day shall win;  
To doubt would be disloyalty,  
To falter would be sin.

DAVID G. HASKINS, JR., Treasurer.

## ADDRESS BY THE HON. JAIME C. DE VEYRA

Resident Commissioner from the Philippines.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen:

Allow me to thank you from the bottom of my heart for your courtesy to us, the Filipinos here present, and especially for the privilege granted me to address you today. I am doing it in your own language, which I regret I do not sufficiently possess to express in a fitting manner my impressions of the moment, and, with your permission, I shall read to you my few remarks.

I have come from a very far away country, so far that many of your people ignore its conditions, and many slightly ignore, if not altogether, its existence; they even ignore that the United States of America is doing a high political mission there. As an exception, you that are gathered here have given your attention to the Philippines from the beginning of our political intercourse, zealously guarding that your public institutions might not be endangered with the political upheaval as a consequence of the Spanish-American War. And this, not only because your imagination was stirred with the existence of a distant country, inhabited by a people of different race, with conditions entirely new to you, but also because you have devoted your time to studying them with great zeal.

That is why we are grateful to you. Your League came into existence as guardian of Liberty and Democracy to oppose any imperialistic movement. You worked to save your country from a danger, and in so doing, you included the salvation of our freedom and democracy.

You are the knights of an Ideal. In the heat of the struggle your enemies have not been able to find an illegitimate motive in your intentions; on the contrary, they have been compelled to admit the saneness of your beliefs, your straightforward points of view and the altruism with which all your actions are guided.

Your attitude toward your own country has already been judged by your own people. With respect to our attitude, permit me to go further than those who have preceded me. I believe that I represent the very best feelings of my people. I



can, therefore, speak for them and for myself. Your feelings and intentions toward us seem to be even more altruistic than your attitude toward your own country. Here you guard something which you consider sacred for you, and you are doing it because you are citizens of this country; because it is your inherent duty to preserve your immortal and great traditions lest they perish. Were you to lose your freedom and make democracy despondent, you will be the only ones to feel the effects. But in the Philippines what duties have called you there; what interests have you created; what rights have you to defend? None. Your League has only tried to confine your nation's jurisdiction within your old boundaries, place a bar to prevent the extension of your dominion, and, in so doing, you respected the rights of others to live in peace. If you examine your work from the American point of view, it may appear selfish; but examining it from the Filipino point of view, it is the most altruistic work done in our behalf.

You were not under any obligations towards us, and if you hailed the banner of the principle of Truth and proclaimed in the Philippines the right of independence, you did it because you believe in the principle of your Immortal Declaration of Independence that "governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed." The Filipino people are not blind nor unconscious, nor unmindful of your noble efforts toward them; they have nothing but deep gratitude for the members of the Anti-Imperialist League for the noble work which this great institution has done for them.

Permit me to mention important events that recently happened here and in my country. United we struggled in the past, united we celebrated the most important event in the history of our struggle for independence: The passage of the "Jones Law" by the Congress providing a more autonomous government for the Philippines. This law was approved by the President of the United States on August 29, 1916, and on October 16 following two legislative bodies in the Philippines were organized: the House of Representatives and the Philippine Senate, both elective. The broad provisions of this law make possible the transfer of public offices held by Americans to Filipinos. In one word, should the President of the United States desire it, it will be possible for the Philippines to have a government conducted entirely by Filipinos. The best guaranty for the execution of this purpose is the declaration of the intention of the American people contained in the preamble

of said "Jones Law" to make us free and independent as soon as a stable government can be established in the Islands.

The present government in the Philippines is a probational one. How long this will last the law does not say. It may be short, or it may be for an indefinite period of time. It will depend on the Filipinos to show their capacity to govern themselves.

The question as it stands now seems to have ended all discussion here; and the ultimate destiny of the Filipino people now rests in their own hands. The work has to be developed there before any appeal for further concession of self-government can be presented before the American people and the Congress in order that they may judge and pronounce their verdict.

Your record of last year will show what has been done which probably will guide in your future work.

As to the Filipinos who are directly interested in the matter, allow me to tell you that we are crossing a dangerous period in our cause. It is said that the pleasures of Capua have demoralized the Carthaginians. A temporary settlement of the question may cause the Filipinos to forget the final goal—independence. It is human to feel at ease when the inducement for something hard to get had ceased.

With respect to the attitude of the League, I can say that I have learned from some of its members its determination to continue agitating for Philippine Independence. I want to take advantage of this opportunity to bring to your attention how the government in the Philippines is running under the new law, with the entire approval of the people. The abolition of the old Philippine Commission, our former Upper House, and the creation of an elective Senate, and the organization of the Executive Departments, by placing them in the hands of Filipinos with the exception of the Department of Public Instruction, are evidences of the capability of our people for self-government.

As a conclusive proof, a few months after the reorganization of the government the most serious event in the history of the United States took place, namely, her entrance into the European war. The Filipino people not only have faced their own difficulty, but also they have placed themselves on the side of this country; the people offering their lives and blood and liberally contributing to the Liberty Loans.

While we patiently wait for the end of the tragic struggle when the rights of the nations, big and small, will be protected,

as President Wilson often has repeatedly said, we are ready to assume any responsibility that will give us a national existence. This is our attitude and these are our hopes, gentlemen of the League; and we confidently trust that as you have helped us in the past you will also help us in the future to obtain the end desired.

I thank you.

---

## ADDRESS BY THE HON. TEODORO R. YANGCO

Resident Commissioner from the Philippines.

On only very few occasions have I had the honor of speaking before a public gathering, but even if I were an orator by profession, I can assure you with all sincerity that I cherish this great privilege, as any other Filipino would if he were in my place, of taking part and being heard in this important congregation.

Before extending my short remarks, however, permit me to express once more to the Anti-Imperialist League the most profound gratitude and warmest congratulations of my people for the recent triumph in the halls of Congress achieved by their representatives, our predecessors, Messrs. Manuel L. Quezon and Manuel Earnshaw. The passage of the new Organic Law of the Philippines, commonly known as the "Jones Law," was a death blow to imperialism, and it would be closing the eyes from the truth if one tries to belittle the great assistance and support contributed by the League for the enactment of that legislation.

Various conventions had already been held, before the one now being held, by this great institution, and various delegates from the Philippines had had the opportunity of attending such conventions. But in my judgment none that was before held can surpass the importance of our present gathering, for since the passage of the new Organic Law of the Islands this is the first one to be held. That is why I say again that it is a rare privilege and I feel it with deep satisfaction to be accorded this opportunity of being with you at this convention.

It is now about two decades when the Filipino people, convinced of the hopelessness of securing their independence by force of arms, abandoned the field of battle and accepted the sovereignty of America. Despite their state of dependence they have not lost faith that some day they will reap the fruits of their legitimate aspirations and continued to exert them-



selves to attain their aims by peaceful methods. It became evident that those aspirations had inherent vitality which is accentuated and fortified in the course of time. Meanwhile there appeared a group of men in this country, with broad democratic visions, jealous of maintaining intact the glorious traditions of its past, so well expounded in your immortal Declaration of Independence. Those men who by the way symbolize the true type of American statesmanship founded the Anti-Imperialist League. Parallel with the work of our representatives in Congress, the Anti-Imperialist League was exerting its influence on behalf of the Filipino people. While in this country and in the Philippines we resorted to every conceivable way to achieve our national ambitions, the League through its campaigns gave effective assistance and support. So that the enactment of the "Jones Law" was as legitimate a triumph of the Filipino people, as of the League.

I can say with no fear of misrepresenting the facts that the Filipino people, without distinction of parties, groups and classes, are to-day firmly convinced of the righteousness and spirit of justice of the American people. The days of misunderstanding between the two people have disappeared forever. We are deeply gratified with the good intentions of the United States and our gratitude can only compare with the keen affection that we have with this great civic league, whose name is so well known in the Islands.

However, I do not want to be understood that our struggle for complete independence has come to an end. As was well said by Mr. Winslow, whose unwearying efforts on behalf of the League and of the Filipino people are well known, the passage of the "Jones Law" is but a step toward the consummation of our national ideals. In fact, there is still left the goal of our aspirations, the complete independence of the Islands.

We know that we are moving toward that direction. The American people through Congress have solemnly declared their intentions with regard to the ultimate destiny of the Filipino people. We know that the Anti-Imperialist League will continue to give its best and effective support in our great undertaking until we have secured for the Philippine archipelago its own self-government based upon true democracy, for which your great country, with the sympathy of justice loving neutrals and the wholehearted co-operation of the entente nations, is fighting in the present gigantic struggle.

Gentlemen, I am heartily gratified for the honor bestowed upon me in being heard on this occasion.



## ADDRESS OF PRESIDENT MOORFIELD STOREY

We are met at the gravest crisis perhaps in the history of the world. What we have been taught to call "civilization" has turned from exploiting what it has termed "inferior" peoples and is destroying itself. The flower of its manhood, the wealth accumulated through centuries, the treasures of art which cannot be replaced, and, what is more valuable than all, its moral standards are thrown into the maelstrom of war, and bewildered by disasters, every man wonders what is in store for the world and steels himself to meet the worst calamities. From this situation we at least may derive some grains of consolation. Not twenty years ago a very few people in this great country formed our League, which since that time has been battling for human freedom against opposition of various kinds, open and covert, and especially against public indifference, the most difficult of all obstacles to overcome. Now substantially the whole world outside of Germany and its subjects, Austria, Bulgaria and Turkey, is united in a great anti-imperialist league, and is bending all its energies to maintain the principles which our league was formed to assert and defend. This nation under the lead of President Wilson, with no purpose of conquest or acquisition, is resolved to devote all its resources, human and material, to the work of securing the right of every small nation to develop itself, free from any interference by its stronger neighbors. Imperialism has shown itself in all its naked ugliness, and mankind, aghast at the revelation, has combined to destroy it.

"'Tis Earth's old Slave—God battling for his crown  
And Freedom fighting with her visor down."

We can perhaps claim little if any credit for the conversion of the world, but we can at least be glad that we have foreseen and pointed out some of the dangers which are now apparent to everyone. When all the great powers engage in appropriating parts of the world which belong to others, it is inevitable that a time should come when their mutual jealousy will lead them to quarrel with each other. The inevitable has happened.

"In vain the common theme my tongue would shun  
All tongues, all thoughts, all hearts can find but one."

When—how—can we end this frightful war?

Among us are men and women who see clearly, as we all do, the horrors of the day, who can see no end to the butchery, the suffering, the ruin, the cruelties and the hate which every human being deplures, and who feel that we must make an end for the sake of humanity. They cannot believe that this is impossible, and they do believe that once this war is over, the people of every nation will resolve that such a calamity must never happen again. These feelings are always common as a long struggle approaches its end, when the glamour of war has passed and its terrors have been brought home to every heart. They simply mean "How long, O Lord, how long."

But natural as such feelings and hopes are, it is no time to express them. They only encourage the enemy and weaken our own resolution, every particle of which we need if we are to "endure to the end." We can perhaps appreciate how futile are these longings for peace by a little consideration. Let us first remember that Germany does not offer any terms of peace. Her leaders say that they desire it, but as the late Chancellor Michaelis said, it was not safe to state Germany's terms, for it would weaken her cause. What she really means may be gathered from Reventlow's definition of "the freedom of the seas:

"What do we Germans understand by the freedom of the seas? Of course, we do not mean by it that free use of the sea which is the common privilege of all nations in times of peace—the right to the open highways of international trade. That sort of freedom of the sea we had before the war. What we understand today by this doctrine is that Germany should possess such maritime territories and such naval bases that at the outbreak of the war we should be able, with our navy ready, reasonably to guarantee ourselves the command of the seas. We want such a jumping-off place for our navy as would give us a fair chance of dominating the seas and of being free of the seas during a war. The inalienable possession of the Belgian seaboard is, therefore, a matter of life and death to us, and the man is a traitor who would faint-heartedly relinquish this coast to England. Our aim must be not only to keep what our arms have already won on this coast,

but sooner or later to extend our seaboard to the south of the Strait of Calais."

While Germany still holds so much of Belgium, France, Serbia, Roumania, Poland and Italy, if a peace were to be made which left her in possession of what she now holds, to say nothing of all the money and other property which she has stolen from the people in the territory which she has occupied, she would have gained immensely by the war, and left in control of Austria, Bulgaria and Turkey would be the most formidable danger to the world's safety that has ever existed. No wonder that she wants peace by which she has everything to gain and nothing to lose. If she can once get an armistice and begin to negotiate she will try to breed dissension among the Allies, to buy men and newspapers everywhere who will spread her falsehoods, to gain time for building new submarines, casting new guns, collecting fresh munitions and supplies, while behind the negotiations will be the pressure of nations longing for peace and dreading the resumption of hostilities, impatient of delay and indifferent to terms. Any peace that is possible now means the surrender of all that we most value. We must fight on till Germany shows a willingness to make peace on conditions that we can accept. She began the war and she should offer peace. To translate Talleyrand, "Let the assassins begin."

But consider what a peace would mean that should leave the Hohenzollerns and their supporters in power. Let the Kaiser speak for himself.

" . . . Remember that you are the chosen people! The Spirit of the Lord has descended upon me because I am the Emperor of the Germans!

"I am the instrument of the Almighty. I am his sword, his agent. Woe and death to all those who shall oppose my will! Woe and death to those who do not believe in my mission! Woe and death to the cowards!

"Let them perish, all the enemies of the German people! God demands their destruction, God who, by my mouth, bids you to do his will!"

Let him state the object of the war:

"The triumph of the greater Germany, which some day must dominate all Europe, is the single end for which we are fighting."

Maximilian Harden represents a very different element in Germany, but his view is the same.

"That Germans do not fit into the bustle of peaceable nations is the proudest ornament of the German character. Their manhood does not feminize itself in long peace. War has always been their chief business."

"We are not waging war to punish countries, nor to free enslaved peoples and then warm ourselves in the consciousness of our unselfish nobility. We are waging war because of our solid conviction that Germany, in view of her achievements, has the right to demand and must obtain more room on the earth and a broader sphere of action. . . . Spain and the Netherlands, Rome and Hapsburg, France and England seized, ruled, settled great expanses of the most fertile soil. Now the hour has struck for German supremacy. A peace that does not secure this will leave our efforts unrewarded."

"One principle only is to be reckoned with—one which sums up and includes all others—force! Boast of that and scorn all twaddle. Force! that is what rings loud and clear; that is what has distinction and fascination. Force, the fist—that is everything. . . . Let us drop our pitiable efforts to excuse Germany's action; let us cease heaping contemptible insults upon the enemy. Not against our will were we thrown into this gigantic adventure. It was not imposed on us by surprise. We willed it; we were bound to will it. We do not appear before the tribunal of Europe; we do not recognize any such jurisdiction."

As another evidence of the German attitude listen to Vierodt:

"Germany is so far above and beyond all the other nations that all the rest of the earth, be they who they may, should feel themselves well cared for when they are allowed to fight with the dogs for the crumbs that fall from her table."

It is difficult to imagine a nation whose ruler can speak as the Kaiser speaks without losing the respect of his people. We have books full of utterances from the leaders of German thought, statesmen, soldiers, historians, clergymen, teachers, which breathe the same spirit. The rulers of Germany have shown that they regard no law, international or moral, that



they are bound by no treaty, that they consider it right to take whatever they have the power to take from their neighbors, that they stop at no crime, however barbarous, robbing, burning, ravishing, destroying, enslaving, sparing neither age nor sex, that even their high officers help themselves to the pictures, furniture and valuables of non-combatants, until, to quote the *Frankfurter Zeitung*:

“The quantity of merchandise of various kinds seized in the hostile countries is so great that the difficulty of storing it increases every day. By request of the Prussian Minister of War, all the chambers of commerce have been asked to give all possible information regarding warehouses, sheds, etc., . . . in which these spoils may be temporarily sheltered. It is proposed to divide the merchandise among all the countries of the Empire.”

These crimes are not the acts of individual ruffians, but have been done in pursuance of a deliberate policy. There is no act of cruelty to an enemy, nor of fraud under the guise of friendship which the German leaders hesitate to commit, and the German people stand behind their rulers and support them. No voice is raised in condemnation of what has been done, if we except a few writers whose books are published outside of Germany, and whose authors if found in their native land would be punished as traitors.

In a word, Germany stands for might organized to win by war territory, property and power. The German people believe that war pays, and while they so believe they are a standing menace to the world. No treaty of peace that we could make would bind them one moment after they were ready to strike again.

Their victory would mean a prostrate France, an England whose shores would be within reach of Germany's guns and whose fleet would no longer protect the true freedom of the seas, a Europe trampled under the iron heels of Prussians drunk with power and restrained by no considerations of law or morals. Those who had given their lives in the struggle would be envied by all who survived such a victory.

A peace which should leave the nations as they were, with the old boundaries restored, with no annexations, no reparation, no return of spoils, could be only a truce. Every nation that could would prepare for a new struggle, and, crushed by the debt incurred in waging this war, would be overwhelmed by

fresh taxes in preparing for the next. Science would devote itself to devising new and more terrible engines and means of destroying life. Fleets of aeroplanes and submarines, miles of fortifications, reservoirs of mines and torpedoes would be prepared at enormous expense, only to be thrown away when some new inventions superseded them. The whole march of civilization would be stopped, and the next generation would be called upon to endure another reign of terror. Our youth would spend precious years in drilling and learning war, while all the arts of peace would suffer, and each workman as he went to his daily task would carry on his back a soldier. The mind cannot contemplate such a possibility. We cannot sacrifice all the precious lives that have been lost in this contest, we cannot let all the woe that the world has suffered go for nought, and resolve to prepare for new wars and new unspeakable horrors. "Weltmacht oder niedergang" is the German cry. There is no room for compromise. They must not have the first, and it is their own choice if they are forced to accept the last. Great as must be the price, terrible as will be the sacrifice that we all make, the war must go on until either Germany is taught by crushing defeat that war does not pay, or democracy is trampled under the feet of tyranny. As defeat cured the French of belief in the Bonapartes, so it must cure the Germans of trust in the Hohenzollerns, who in the words of Gallatin "have made them slaves at home and tyrants abroad."

The verses of Lowell written as the end of the Civil War approached express our feelings now, with the change of a single word in the last line.

Come, Peace, not like a mourner bowed

For honor lost and dear ones wasted,

But proud to meet a people proud

With eyes that tell of triumph tasted.

Come, with hand gripping on the hilt

And step that tells you victory's daughter,

Longing for you, our spirits wilt

Like shipwrecked men's on rafts for water.

Come, such as mothers prayed for when

They kissed their cross with lips that quivered,

And bring fair wages to brave men

A nation saved, a world delivered.

As for our own peculiar interests the Filipinos are fortunately remote, and under the "Jones Law" have the opportunity, while

the rest of the world is fighting, to work out their own salvation in peace. It is gratifying to read Governor Harrison's assurance that "The reconstruction of this government resulting from the passage of the 'Jones Law' and the law of departmental reorganization has proved definitely and entirely successful, and public affairs are being conducted with efficiency and harmony between the different branches of government." We are told that the Americans are steadily leaving the islands, resigning their offices and severing their business connections. This is as it should be. They do not go there to cast their lot with the Filipinos and make the islands their home. Like India the Philippines do not invite Anglo-Saxon colonists, and those who go intend to return. Americans in the islands are only making a speculative "hazard of new fortunes." Their departure leaves vacancies for Filipinos, and gradually but steadily the management of Philippine affairs is passing into the hands of men born in the islands and understanding their own people. The Filipino people should remember that this is an opportunity to be used so wisely that their sobriety, their honesty, and their economy may furnish the proof that they can govern themselves and are fit to claim the independence which has been promised them. This indeed may be asked and granted in time for inclusion in the after-war settlement which is to guarantee the autonomy of "weaker peoples." Let them never for a moment lose sight of the goal, their absolute independence. Let them prepare for the day when it shall come by organization, by training, by study. Let no conflicting ambitions divide them, let no other thoughts distract them, let no comfort or luxury or hope of wealth through connections with America or Americans relax their zeal. The problem is theirs, and it is for them to prove their capacity. We can advise and help, but the real task is theirs. They would be free. Themselves must strike the blow, fortunately not a blow in war, but the far more effective blow which they can strike by the methods of peace.

The people of the Philippine Islands are as numerous as the Belgians, and have the same right to work out their own destiny, "unhindered, unthreatened and unafraid." When peace comes it will find the whole world an "anti-imperial league," and then, our task accomplished, we can dissolve our association and depart in peace. But till that hour comes we must not lay aside our armor but must still fight on, sure that in the long run our cause will triumph though we, like our comrades who have left us, may not live to see it.



## LETTER FROM THE HON. WILLIAM A. JONES

Chairman of the Committee on Insular Affairs of the House of Representatives, 65th Congress.

The following letter, received from the Hon. William A. Jones, was communicated:

Washington, Dec. 11, 1917.

"I again thank you for your kind invitation to attend the banquet to be held on Monday next.

\* \* \* \* \*

"I beg to assure you that it would give me great pleasure to be with you if I were permitted to do so. I feel that your meeting will be held this year under most auspicious circumstances, and I further feel that all of us who believe in Philippine independence, and who have actively labored to bring it about, may felicitate ourselves upon the good results which have followed upon what has so far been accomplished towards that end. From what I have been able to learn of conditions in the Philippines, never before have their inhabitants been blessed with an equal amount of happiness, contentment and prosperity to that which they are now enjoying. This, I am assured, even by those who doubted the wisdom of the passage of the organic law under which the Filipinos are now living, is chiefly due to the enactment of that legislation, and never before have the Filipinos manifested a like amount of goodwill for the people of the United States. The state of general contentment which exists throughout the Islands, and the many manifestations of loyalty on the part of their inhabitants to the American Government, is not due, as has been asserted in certain quarters, to the alleged fact that they have lost their desire for complete independence. On the contrary, I believe it is true that the increased measure of autonomy which they now enjoy has but stimulated their desire for complete autonomy and absolute independence.

\* \* \* \* \*

"I feel confident that it is their faith in the fulfilment of our promise of independence which inspired the offer of the Philip-



pine Legislature to raise a considerable body of troops to serve in the ranks of the Allies on the battlefields of France. I have been profoundly impressed by this evidence of loyalty on their part, and I firmly believe, as they doubtless do, that it will serve to hasten the hour when they shall be granted complete independence.

“Again regretting my inability to be present at your banquet, and expressing the hope that it may prove a most pleasant occasion, I am,

Sincerely yours,

(Signed)

W. A. JONES.”

---

## RESOLUTION

The following resolution was proposed by David Greene Haskins, Jr., Esq., seconded by the Hon. Albion A. Perry, and passed:

“Voted, That the Anti-Imperialist League, assembled in its annual meeting, conveys to its esteemed Secretary, Mr. Erving Winslow, an expression of its deep regret that he is unable to be present today, and its earnest hope for his speedy restoration to complete health and strength, so that the inspiration of his presence may be again vouchsafed to our League.”

## ELECTION OF OFFICERS

After E. H. Clement, Esq., and James H. Bowditch, Esq., appointed by the President a committee to distribute, collect and count ballots, had reported the election of officers for the ensuing year as annexed, the meeting was dissolved.

### President

Moorfield Storey

### Treasurer

David Greene Haskins, Jr.

### Secretary

Erving Winslow

### Executive Committee

James H. Bowditch  
Frederick Brooks  
Edward H. Clement  
Charles Fleischer

Albert S. Parsons  
Albion A. Perry  
John Ritchie  
Fiske Warren

### Vice-Presidents

#### ALABAMA.

President George H. Denny, Tuscaloosa.  
Prof. Edgar B. Kay, Tuscaloosa.  
Prof. H. A. Sayre, Tuscaloosa.  
Hon. Oscar W. Underwood, Birmingham.

Hon. John F. Shafroth, Denver.  
Hon. C. S. Thomas, Denver.

#### CONNECTICUT.

Homer S. Cummings, Esq., Stamford.  
Prof. Geo. T. Ladd, New Haven.  
Hon. Charles F. Thayer, Norwich.

#### ALASKA.

Martin Harraiss, Esq., Chena.  
John Ronan, Esq., Fairbanks.

#### DELAWARE.

William Canby Ferris, Esq., Wilmington.  
Hon. Richard R. Kenney, Dover.

#### ARIZONA.

Fred T. Colter, Esq., Colter.  
Frank P. Trott, Esq., Phoenix.

#### DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

Hon. John H. Clarke, Washington.  
Hon. Josephus Daniels, Washington.  
Samuel Gompers, Esq., Washington.  
Gen. Nelson A. Miles, Washington.  
Hon. Louis F. Post, Washington.  
Mrs. Alice Thacher Post, Washington.  
Hon. Jackson H. Ralston, Washington.  
Very Rev. Geo. M. Searle, Washington.

#### ARKANSAS

Wallace Davis, Esq., Little Rock.  
Hon. W. M. Kavanaugh, Little Rock.

#### CALIFORNIA.

J. H. Barry, Esq., San Francisco.  
Rev. J. H. Crooker, Redlands.  
Mrs. Maria Freeman Gray, San Francisco.  
Chancellor David Starr Jordan, Leland Stanford University.  
C. F. Lummis, Esq., Los Angeles.  
Hon. Warren Olney, Oakland.  
William H. Rogers, Esq., San Jose.

#### FLORIDA.

J. T. G. Crawford, Esq., Jacksonville.  
Hon. Thomas M. Shackelford, Tallahassee.

#### COLORADO.

John T. Barnett, Esq., Denver.  
Hon. John A. Martin, Pueblo.

#### GEORGIA.

Hon. James H. Blount, Macon.

Hon. W. H. Fleming, Augusta.  
Gen. James Gadsden Holmes, Macon.  
Hon. Peter W. Meldrim, Savannah.  
Hon. Hoke Smith, Atlanta.

#### IDAHO.

Hon. Simon P. Donnelly, Lakeview.  
R. H. Elder, Esq., Coeur d'Alene.

#### ILLINOIS.

Miss Jane Addams, Chicago.  
Hon. Edward Osgood Brown, Chicago.  
R. T. Crane, Jr., Esq., Chicago.  
Prof. Starr Willard Cutting, Chicago.  
Prof. William E. Dodd, Chicago.  
Frederick W. Gookin, Esq., Chicago.  
Prof. William Gardner Hale, Chicago.  
Prof. Ira W. Howerth, Chicago.  
Rev. Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Chicago.  
Rev. Alonzo K. Parker, Chicago.  
Dr. William Morton Payne, Chicago.  
Prof. Frederick Starr, Chicago.  
Charles M. Sturges, Esq., Chicago.  
Prof. A. H. Tolman, Chicago.  
Sigmund Zeisler, Esq., Chicago.

#### INDIANA.

Hon. Cyrus Cline, Angola.  
Hon. H. U. Johnson, Richmond.

#### IOWA.

Hon. Horace Boies, Waterloo.  
Hon. Cato Sells, Vinton.  
Hon. Henry Vollmer, Davenport.

#### KANSAS.

Samuel B. Amidon, Esq., Wichita.  
Hugh P. Farrelly, Esq., Chanute.

#### KENTUCKY.

William B. Haldeman, Esq., Louisville.  
James G. Howard, Esq., Lock.  
Stephen D. Parrish, Esq., Richmond.

#### LOUISIANA.

Prof. W. B. Gregory, New Orleans.  
Pres. E. L. Stephens, Lafayette.

#### MAINE.

President George C. Chase, Lewiston.  
Dr. Seth C. Gordon, Portland.  
Hon. Luther F. McKinney, Bridgton.

#### MARYLAND.

Hon. John V. LeMoyne, Baltimore.  
Hon. George L. Wellington, Cumberland.

#### MASSACHUSETTS.

Magnus W. Alexander, Esq., Lynn.  
Mrs. Charles G. Ames, Yarmouthport.

Rev. A. A. Berle, Cambridge.  
Col. C. R. Codman, Brookline.  
Rev. C. F. Dole, Boston.  
Prof. Garrett Droppers, Williamstown.  
Thomas B. Fitzpatrick, Esq., Boston.  
President G. Stanley Hall, Worcester.  
Hon. J. M. Head, Boston.  
Hon. Roger Sherman Hoar, Concord.  
Prof. Lewis J. Johnson, Cambridge.  
Hon. George W. Kelley, Rockland.  
Henry W. Lamb, Esq., Brookline.  
Hon. Samuel W. McCall, Winchester.  
Edwin D. Mead, Esq., Boston.  
Mrs. Lucia Ames Mead, Boston.  
James P. Munroe, Esq., Boston.  
Miss Emily L. Osgood, Lincoln.  
Hon. Herbert C. Parsons, Greenfield.  
Rev. Charles H. Pennoyer, Attleborough.  
Hon. Josiah Quincy, Boston.  
Dr. Francis H. Rowley, Boston.  
Rev. W. H. van Allen, Boston.  
Hon. Winslow Warren, Dedham.

#### MICHIGAN.

Charles S. Hampton, Esq., Detroit.  
Charles Humphrey, Esq., Adrian.  
Rev. Jabez T. Sunderland, Detroit.  
Rt. Rev. Charles D. Williams, Detroit.

#### MINNESOTA.

Frederick G. Corser, Esq., Minneapolis.  
Hon. John Lind, Minneapolis.  
S. A. Stockwell, Esq., Minneapolis.

#### MISSISSIPPI.

Hon. John S. Williams, Yazoo City.

#### MISSOURI.

E. F. Goltra, Esq., St. Louis.  
William Marion Reedy, Esq., St. Louis.

#### MONTANA.

Massena Bullard, Esq., Helena.  
Edward Scharnikow, Esq., Deer Lodge.  
Andrew Dunshire, Esq., Kalispell.

#### NEBRASKA.

A. J. Sawyer, Esq., Lincoln.  
Rt. Rev. Arthur S. Williams, Omaha.

#### NEVADA.

Dr. J. J. Sullivan, Virginia City.

#### NEW HAMPSHIRE.

Hon. Henry F. Hollis, Concord.  
R. C. Murchie, Esq., Concord.

## NEW JERSEY.

Ralph W. E. Donges, Esq., Camden.  
Hon. Eugene F. Kinkead, Jersey City.

## NEW MEXICO.

A. A. Jones, Esq., Las Vegas.

## NEW YORK.

Everett V. Abbott, Esq., New York.  
Rev. Richard W. Boynton, Buffalo.  
Waldo R. Browne, Esq., Wyoming.  
Andrew Carnegie, Esq., New York.  
R. Fulton Cutting, Esq., New York.  
Charles Stewart Davison, Esq., New York.  
Prof. John Dewey, New York.  
Austen G. Fox, Esq., New York.  
Henry W. Haddon, Esq., New York.  
Henry Hentz, Esq., New York.  
William Dean Howells, Esq., New York.  
Prof. Jacques Loeb, New York.  
Hon. Norman E. Mack, Buffalo.  
Hon. Thomas Mott Osborne, Auburn.  
Rev. C. H. Parkhurst, New York.  
Mrs. Fanny Garrison Villard, Dobbs Ferry.  
Oswald Garrison Villard, Esq., New York.

## NORTH CAROLINA.

President L. L. Hobbs, Guilford.

## NORTH DAKOTA.

H. H. Perry, Esq., Ellendale.

## OHIO.

Hon. John J. Lentz, Columbus.  
Hon. Rufus B. Smith, Cincinnati.  
Edward Stang, Esq., Cincinnati.  
Hon. Brand Whitlock, Toledo.  
Charles B. Wilby, Esq., Cincinnati.

## OKLAHOMA.

Dr. D. H. Patton, Woodward.  
Thomas Wade, Esq., Marlow.

## OREGON.

James Hennessy Murphy, Esq., Portland.  
H. B. Nicholes, Esq., Portland.  
Col. C. E. S. Wood, Portland.

## PENNSYLVANIA.

Samuel Bowles, Jr., Esq., Philadelphia.  
Mrs. Mary Fels, Philadelphia.  
Dr. W. Horace Hoskins, Philadelphia.  
Francis Fisher Kane, Esq., Philadelphia.

Hon. A. Mitchell Palmer, Stroudsburg.  
Mickle C. Paul, Esq., Philadelphia.  
Hon. Vance C. McCormick, Harrisburg.  
Frank Stephens, Esq., Philadelphia.  
Dr. Robert Ellis Thompson, Philadelphia.  
Herbert Welsh, Esq., Philadelphia.

## RHODE ISLAND.

Hon. Lucius F. C. Garvin, Lonsdale.  
Edwin C. Pierce, Esq., Providence.

## SOUTH CAROLINA.

Willie Jones, Esq., Columbia.  
Hon. James Simons, Charleston.

## SOUTH DAKOTA.

Hon. Levi McGee, Rapid City.  
Joseph B. Moore, Esq., Lead.

## TENNESSEE.

Hon. John Wesley Gaines, Nashville.  
Cordell Hull, Esq., Carthage.

## TEXAS.

Frederick Opp, Esq., Llano.  
Hon. James L. Slayden, San Antonio.

## UTAH.

P. J. Daly, Esq., Salt Lake City.  
James H. Moyle, Esq., Salt Lake City.

## VERMONT.

Major F. W. Childs, Brattleboro.  
Edwin L. Wells, Esq., Lyndonville.

## VIRGINIA.

Dr. Paul B. Barringer, Charlottesville.  
Prof. James Hardy Dillard, Charlottesville.

## WASHINGTON.

C. G. Heifner, Esq., Seattle.  
Hugh C. Wallace, Esq., Tacoma.

## WEST VIRGINIA.

Hon. A. S. Johnston, Union.  
Hon. John E. Stealey, Clarksburg.

## WISCONSIN.

William George Bruce, Esq., Milwaukee.  
Joseph Martin, Esq., Green Bay.

## WYOMING.

Hon. John C. Hamm, Cheyenne.  
John E. Osborne, Esq., Rawlins.



N 44

v. 21

APR 1922

pendence! We learn from Cuba today what the "independence", certain interests in the Philippines are willing to sue for, may come to mean to themselves and to the United States. Is such a relation to be the final achievement when the efforts, hopes and prayers of twenty years seemed so near to securing a real independence for the Philippine nation?

## NECROLOGY

DR. WILLIAM MORTON PAYNE

DR. GEORGE C. CHASE

ANDREW CARNEGIE, ESQ.

HON. JOSIAH QUINCY

} Vice Presidents

JOHN RITCHIE, ESQ.

EDWARD HENRY CLEMENT, ESQ.

} of Executive  
Committee

June 23, 1919.

That valuable endorsement which was given by the cordial support of George Colby Chase, as a Vice President, was enjoyed by the Anti-Imperialist League for many years. Conscience and the highest ideals controlled his career and each association he formed and function he undertook was a matter of earnest responsibility; in its degree that he felt for his great life-work, the practical creation of Bates College. "Self-determination" and "self-help" were his maxims in public affairs as they were for the guidance of his own life and, as a genuine American of "plain living and high-thinking" forbears, he abhorred imperialism and believed a colonial relation towards the United States from a "weaker people" to be an anomaly which ought to be cured absolutely and speedily.

The Executive Committee of the Anti-Imperialist League condoles deeply with the Faculty of Bates College and with the family of President Chase in their great loss.

July 19, 1919.

The Executive Committee of the Anti-Imperialist League makes this record:

In meeting without our tried and true associate, John Ritchie, it is not to set down many words of eulogy such as his rare modesty would have deplored but we may and must speak fitly, with sorrowful affection, of a singularly loving and loyal nature, such as was his. It was accepted here and wherever he

was known, good as the daily bread, a matter of course like the sunshine of common day; until we come to feel in his loss what the vital presence was of the generous, kindly, patient, even-tempered and wise companion, we are not to see again.

He was prized by the few who remain of his Harvard class, and of his companions-in-arms in the Civil War, which engrossed him when it became a crusade against slavery, and by many members of the coloured race in their after needs and hardships, but he has been for a long time especially devoted to the work for the solution of the Philippine problem according to the ideal of the League. He was never unresponsive to its requirements nor, when physically able, to summons to its counsels.

The Committee extends to Mrs. Ritchie its deep condolence in her loss.

July 29, 1919.

The Executive Committee of the Anti-Imperialist League of which the Headquarters are in Boston has voted at a recent meeting as follows: In New England, the place of his birth, the record is made with deep regret of the death of a late Vice President of the Anti-Imperialist League, by its Executive Committee: Dr. William Morton Payne, a native of Newburyport, Massachusetts, though a life-long resident of Chicago. As educator, bibliographer, editor, translator and critic he was widely known and honoured but to his intimate associates he was endeared as a noble man, especially to those who profited by connection with him in a work which he regarded as service to the finest American ideals.

August 14, 1919.

The Anti-Imperialist League is called to mourn the death of its first subscriber, Andrew Carnegie, whose initial gift at its organization was followed by continuous aid and sympathy, manifested from year to year. His offer to repay the government the \$20,000,000 given by the treaty to Spain as compensation for the transfer of the sovereignty of the Philippines was made in good faith. It was followed by support of the propaganda which maintained and kept alive the active spirit which worked for independence by all peaceful means in the subjugated "possessions" and among the sympathetic elements in the United States. Mr. Carnegie's last years were cheered by the confidence, expressed in recent communications, that our hope must be realized and the Philippine Islands admitted to the family of nations as an independent state. When this is done another claim to public gratitude will be added to the many good causes which are associated with his name.

The Executive Committee of the League tenders its sincere condolence to Mr. Carnegie's family.

---

November 15, 1919.

The Anti-Imperialist League has lost with the community, the state and nation in the death of the Hon. Josiah Quincy a leader of untiring and unselfish devotion, inspired in public service by the inheritance of an illustrious name, and by the most genuine democratic impulses. He has been for many years one of our Vice Presidents, repeatedly chosen to that office and continuously interested in the disentanglement of the United States from its "possession" of the Philippines, as more inconsistent today than ever, in the downfall of imperialism.

In mourning Mr. Quincy's absence from our counsels and the association of a faithful friendship, the Executive Committee of the League begs to offer sincere condolence to Mrs. Quincy.

---

February 12, 1920.

The Executive Committee of the Anti-Imperialist League, in the death of Edward Henry Clement, records the future absence from it of a valued member, creating a vacancy never to be adequately filled. But in the memories of his survivors, he will be continuously present, enshrined not only as a wise and inspiring associate but as a beloved friend. High-hearted and impulsive, Mr. Clement was influenced to gentle, though firm expression as editor and publicist, not only by professional standards but by abounding charity. He loved his fellow men. No good cause failed to receive help and sympathy from his able pen. He felt most keenly the impairment of the great ideal of the League of Nations and the failure of America to take a leading part in its execution. Armenia's woes had greatly moved him of late and he edited the journal published in its behalf. He was deeply interested in the negro problem, and from the first acquisition of the Philippine "possessions," in every stage, a faithful friend and champion of the "little brown brothers," as allies of our war upon Spain and afterwards as the subjects of our conquest, through our war upon them and their republic.

We extend heart-felt sympathy to Mr. Clement's family in their affliction.

---

(Mr. Clement's lamented death occurred while the Report was passing through the press.)

ERVING WINSLOW, Secretary.

# THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST LEAGUE In account with

DAVID G. HASKINS, Jr., *Treasurer.*

*Cr.*

Balance on hand February 17, 1919:

5 United States Bonds, Fourth Liberty Loan . . . . .	\$500.00
Cash in New England Trust Co. . . . .	\$615.04
Lunch Fees . . . . .	17.00
Contributions and Annual Dues . . . . .	381.80
Interest, Liberty Bonds . . . . .	17.76

\$1031.60

*Dr.*

By amounts expended from February 17, 1919 to November 29, 1919:

Annual Lunch, Hotel Bellevue, February 17 . . . . .	\$75.00
Advertising Annual Meeting (Boston Post) . . . . .	10.00
Stamps, Stationery, etc., for Annual Report . . . . .	25.00
1000 copies Annual Report } . . . . .	49.85
Reprints . . . . .	
Office Rent, one year . . . . .	150.00
Postage . . . . .	65.20
Stationery, etc. . . . .	48.00
Typewriting . . . . .	35.00
Express . . . . .	1.48
Obituary Notices, Messieurs Carnegie and Ritchie	29.50
Advertising Annual Meeting, November 29	
(Evening Record) . . . . .	.75
Loss on Sales of 2 Liberty Bonds and Commission	11.02
Balance on hand to new account:	
3 Liberty Bonds . . . . .	\$300.00
Cash, New England Trust Co. . . . .	530.80

\$1031.60

No. 10 Tremont St., Room 30, Boston, Dec. 12th, 1919.

I have examined the book and vouchers of David H. Haskins, Jr., Treasurer of the Anti-Imperialist League, from Feb'y. 17th, 1919, to November 29th, 1919, and find the accounts correctly kept and properly vouched. Balance on hand \$530.80.—JOHN G. HAYWARD.

E. and O. E.

DAVID GREENE HASKINS, Jr., *Treasurer.*



## MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT STOREY

The President, who was unable to be present at the Meeting, communicated later the following Message:

Members of the Anti-Imperialist League:

This year has been so full of the cares attending the reconstruction of the world after the Great War, of anxieties concerning the terms of peace, and of solicitude for all the various nations who are struggling with disorder, poverty, pestilence and famine, that the object for which our League has been maintained has not attracted the attention of the public. None the less the cause has advanced, as it always must advance, for we have justice and freedom on our side.

The Philippine legislature created a commission containing proper representatives of the Philippine nation, and sent it to this country in order to present their claim to independence, bringing with them abundant evidence that they have fulfilled the condition which in the "Jones Bill" is made the prerequisite of recognizing their nation as an independent state. Governor Harrison added his testimony that the Filipinos have established a stable government, capable of administering the affairs of the Islands, and of dealing with foreign nations. If one has any doubts as to the facts a book which was published by Mr. Maximo Kalaw contains convincing evidence that the Filipinos as a people are now in every respect fitted to govern themselves.

At the approaching session of Congress Filipinos will again urge their claim, and we should be able to hope that its manifest justice, coupled with the impossibility of our holding any people in subjection against their will consistently with the theory upon which our government rests, would persuade Congress to relinquish the sovereignty which the people of the United States in their hearts know they should do. Our recent experience, however, does not make us feel confident of this result, and it is likewise important that the League should still continue to use all the influence it can wield in support of Philippine independence, and this not only for the sake of the Filipino people, but for the sake of our own people. When senators refuse to join a League of Nations for fear that some day American soldiers may be sent to Hedjaz they ought certainly to see the danger of retaining the control of tropical islands thousands of miles from our coasts, where American soldiers would be as much out of place and exposed to as great dangers as they could be in the deserts of Arabia.

It is pleasant to remember that the law which prevented

the display of the Filipino flag has been repealed, and that today it may be borne side by side with the American flag in the streets of Manila. This recognition of patriotic feeling is very much to the credit of all parties concerned. The change in the law was celebrated at Manila and met very generally with proper enthusiasm, and the speeches which were made expressed a feeling of great kindness toward the United States, with a strong longing for Filipino independence. The speakers looked forward to the relations between the two countries as the relation of friends, and it is to be hoped that no action will be taken by the Congress of the United States which will destroy the confidence of the Filipino people that the promise which was made in the "Jones Bill" will be kept, or will tend in any way to weaken the cordial relations that were expressed in Manila when the Filipino flag floated side by side with our own for the first time since we conquered the Islands. The honor of a nation must be guarded as zealously as the honor of an individual, and it is to be hoped that a promise in which both Republicans and Democrats concurred will be kept in spirit as well as in letter. No people can afford to break faith with any other, and though for a while overwhelming power may postpone the inevitable result, sooner or later the whirligig of time brings around its revenge, and the faithless nation finds itself not trusted and alone, at a time perhaps when some world crisis places it in extreme need of friends everywhere. The original stain upon our flag placed there by our course in the Philippine Islands will be almost erased if now we keep our promises and give to the Filipinos that independence which we stand pledged to give.

## ELECTION OF OFFICERS, 1919-1920

The Executive Officers chosen were:

President

Moorfield Storey, Esq., Boston, Mass.

Treasurer

David Greene Haskins, Jr., Esq., Wayland, Mass.

Secretary

Erving Winslow, Esq., New Haven, Conn.

Executive Committee

(with President, Treasurer and Secretary)

James H. Bowditch, Esq., Boston, Mass.

Edward H. Clement, Concord, Mass.

Albert S. Parsons, Esq., Lexington, Mass.

Hon. Albion A. Perry, Somerville, Mass.

and 175 Vice Presidents were elected from every state in the Union.

## ADJOURNMENT

The Meeting was adjourned, subject to call of the Secretary.















3 0112 063830829